

## A declaration of the Frontispice.

**B**efore you travel to the Holy Land,  
Behold a Page that in the front doth stand  
To give you aim and guidance: the way.  
First Europe bids your observation stay  
Upon a Purse of gold (warres fairest nerve)

Whose every Crosse is interw'd to serve  
I'th Holy warre. The gain Calais! no more  
Then Crosse's Gules in stead of Crosse's Ore.

But see the troups, see how they march along:  
where severall ranks and orders make a throng  
Promiscuously blended; sex and age,  
Nation and language jointly do engage  
Their devout forces to redresse thy woes,  
Jerusalem, ravish'd by barbarous foes.

Peter the Monk, leaving his fallen cell,  
His Beads, and Offices, and every fell  
Of his mysterious zeal, breaks forth at last  
To kindle all the world with fatal blast.

First Kings proceed, and Captains follow them:  
The helmet waits upon the dead-men.

The next are Prelates; who stray farre from home  
To winne the glorious name of Martyrdome.

Since all their mild professions could not work  
Upon th' obdurate Antichristian Turk,  
They will at length (if naught prevent their plot)  
Confute his Alcoran with sword and shot.

After those reverend men, whose cloven mitres  
Speak them not warriors so much as writers,  
A bald-pate regiment of Friars comes;  
whose crowns might serve the army for their drums,  
And give as full a sound, if you'll confesse  
The greatest noise I arise from emptinesse.

Then moves the main Battalia, straitly knit  
Into a Readie Phalanx, square, but fit  
To spread, or lengthen, or with art to pare  
The corners till the band grow circular  
Texvixon th' enemy; briefly, to reduce  
Their various postures unto every use.  
These are the onely Forces; all the rest  
Impediments but specious at the best.

But oh amazement! what is that we see?  
A troupe of Ladies in the next degree.  
Each one appears as Joviss's field  
Dreot newly from Jove's brain with spear and shield:  
Or Mars so long as Venus hath posselt,  
Courage is stol'n into her tender breast.  
March on, brave Amazons: comquill and praise  
Heave you a clasp't of immortal bayes  
which you, when Autumn-age shall pluck your hair,  
In stead of costly periwigs may wear.

March on: For the shrill trumpet and the lfe,  
Your tongues may serve; & then to secure your life  
You need no weapons, every face and eye  
Carrieth sufficient amillerie.

A slender company doth next succeed:  
Call it the Infancie; 'tis so indeed.

As if the driving of the Turky away  
From Christian cities, were but childrens play.

The last in this Religious army crawls  
A band collect'd out of Hospitals  
And Spittles. One would think this piteous fight  
Did rather come from warre then go to fight.  
Their commendation's this, How-e'r the day  
Shall chance to prove, they'll hardly run away.

This is the totall muster. Let the book  
Tell their achievements: Meantime as you look  
Upon this Frontispice, you'll plainly see  
Their dismall end and sad Catastrophe.

Th'incens'd Angel with his flaming blade  
Great slaughter of perfidious souls hath made.  
To teach us truth and justice, see how God  
Scourges their fallhood with a fiery rod.

Then the grand Signor his proud sauchion stretches  
with domineering hand over the wretches  
Low prostrate at his foot. Can Christian eyes  
Endure this figure! Let the captives rise,  
Surly black Saracens; their bended knee  
Has higher objects then to reverence thee:  
They serve a Lord greater then Mahomet.  
Though now their sunne be darken'd and beset  
With clouds of disadvantage, time will be  
When such poore things shall triumph over thee;  
And their old prophecies shall be made good,  
Thy Moon shall then be turn'd into blood.

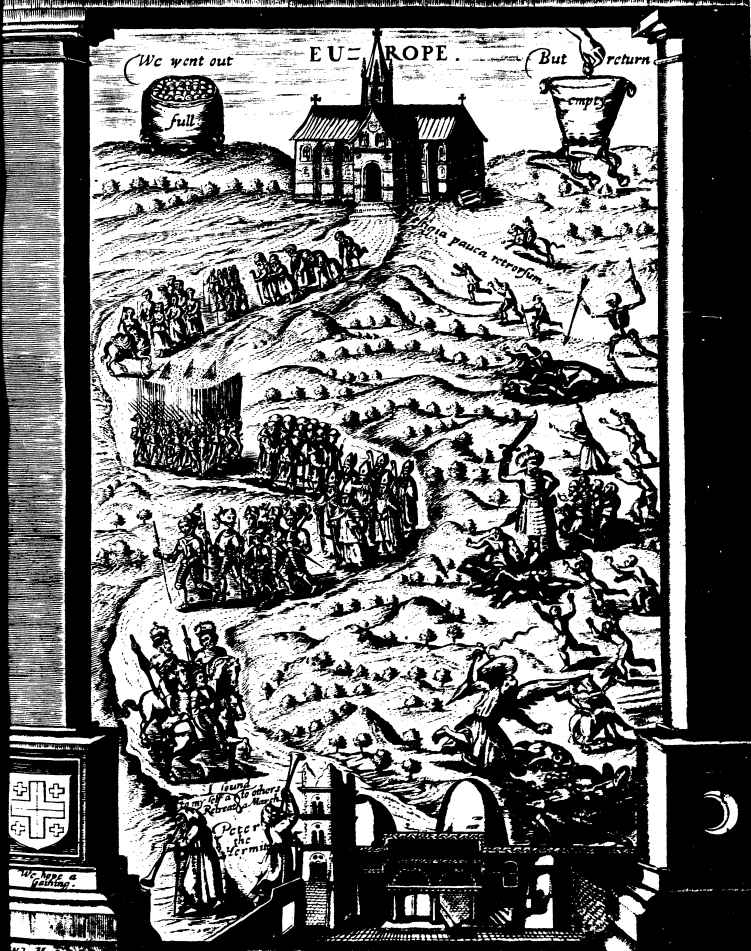
The last of their destroyers that you see,  
Is that same gastly thing th' Anatomie  
Doth represent; a naked cage of bone,  
From whence the winged soul long since is flown:  
They call it Death. He with his double band,  
Sicknesse and casualty on either hand,  
Met many fraggers, forcing them to yeeld:  
And where the Turk before him got the field,  
He took the gleanings. Thus our soldiers fill  
By th' Angel, Turk, and Death; & heaven, earth, & hell.  
Those that escap'd, came home as full of grief  
As the poore Purse is empty of relief.  
They're turn'd, and so is it; but nothing's int,  
Till new devotion shall repair the Mint.  
Mean while read o're the Historie: your brain  
There you may fill, though not the Purse again.

J. C.



THE HISTORIE  
of the 1644  
HOLY WARRE.  
By Tho Fuller, B.D. Prebendarie  
of Sarum, late of Sackney-Coll.  
in Cambridge.

Iohn. 4. 21.  
The house cometh when ye shall neither in  
this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem  
worship the Father.  
Act. 5. 38.  
If this counsel be of men it will  
come to nought.



Printed by Thomas Buck one of the Printers to the University of Cambridge. & are sold by John Williams at 57 Church-yard.

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# THE HISTORIE of the HOLY WARRE;

By  
*THOMAS FULLER*,  
B. D. Prebendarie of *Sarum*, late of *Sidney*  
Colledge in *CAMBRIDGE*.



Printed by *THOMAS BUCK*, one of  
the Printers to the *Universitie* of  
*CAMBRIDGE*, 1639.



*To the Honourable*

EDWARD MONTAGU, & S<sup>r</sup> JOHN POWLET,  
Sonnes and Heirs  
*to the Right Honourable*

EDWARD Lord MONTAGU, & JOHN Lord POWLET  
*of Boughton. of Hinton-S<sup>t</sup>-George.*



When I observe the severall alterations in Nobilitie, I find foure principall actours on the theatres of great Families; the Beginner, Advancer, Continuer, and Ruiner. The Beginner is he who by his vertues refineth himself from the drosse of the vulgar, and layeth the foundation of his house: An excellent workman indeed, as who not onely bringeth his tools, but maketh his materials. The Advancer, who improveth the patrimonie of Honour he receiveth; and what his Father found glasse and made crystall, he findeth crystall and maketh it pearl. The Continuer, who keepeth his Nobilitie alive, and passeth it along neither marring nor mending it; but sendeth it to his Sonne as he received it from his Father. The Ruiner, who basely degenerateth from his Ancestours; so that in him Nobilitie hath runne so farre from its first starting, that it is tired: and whilest he liveth he is no better then his Grandfathers tombe; without, carved over with honourable titles; within, full of emptinesse, or what is worse, corruption.

Now to apply. You cannot be Beginners of your Families; that care was cared for before your nurses were chosen,

*The epistle*

chosen, or your cradles provided. Your Fathers, though of late yeares fixed in a higher Sphear, were bright Starres long before. None can go on in our English Chronicles, but they must meet with a *Montagu* and a *Powlet*, either in peace in their gowns, or in warre in their armour. Yea, when I go backward by the streams of your Paternall Nobilitie, (not to speak of the tributarie brooks of their matches) I can never find the first fountain; and hope none shall ever find the last fall. For as for the ruiners of houses, I should rend that thought out with my heart, if it should conceive that of you. Nay, let me tell you; if you be but bare continuers of your Honour, you deceive both the desires and hopes of your friends. Good is not good when proceeding from them from whom farre better is expected. Your youthfull vertues are so promising, that you cannot come off in your riper age with credit without performing what may redound to the advancing of the honour of your family, and without building your houses one storie higher in the English Historie.

Now know, next Religion, there is nothing accomplisheth a man more then Learning. Learning in a Lord, is as a diamond in gold. And if you fear to hurt your tender hands with thornie School-questions, there is no danger in meddling with History, which is a velvet-study, & recreation-work. What a pitie is it to see a proper Gentleman to have such a crick in his neck that he cannot look backward! yet no better is he who cannot see behind him the actions which long since were performed. History maketh a young man to be old, without either wrinkles or gray hairs; privileging him with the experience of age, without either the infirmities

*Dedicatorie.*

infirmities or inconveniences thereof. Yea, it not onely maketh things past, present; but inableth one to make a rationall conjecture of things to come. For this world affordeth no new accidents, but in the same sense wherein we call it a *new Moon*, which is the old one in another shape, and yet no other then what hath been formerly. Old actions return again, furbished over with some new and different circumstances.

Now amongst all particular histories (I may say) none is more generall then this of the Holy warre, which now I present to your Honours. Some will condemn me for an ill husband, in lavishing two Noble Patrones on one book, whereas one of them might have served to have patronized many volumes. But first, I did it in the weak expresseion of my thankfulness unto you, being deeply indebted to you both; and I thought it dishonestie to pay all to one creditour and none to another; and therefore conceived it best, to share my estate joyntly betwixt you, as farre forth as it would extend. Secondly, considering the weaknesse of this Work, now being to walk abroad in the world, I thought it must be led by both arms, and needed a double supporter. And now I am sure this Holy warre, which was unhappie heretofore, when acted, will be happie hereafter, now written and related, because dedicated to your Honours. So resteth

*Broad-windfor,*

*March 6. 1638.*

*Your Honours*

*in all service*

THO. FULLER.

## To the Reader.

**I**N this work I can challenge nothing to my self, but the composing of it. The materialls were found to my hand: which if any Historian will make, let him not be commended for wit, but shamed for falshood. If every-where I have not charged the margin with the Authours names, it is either because the storie is authour for it self (I mean, generally received) or to avoyd the often citing of the same place. Where I could not go abroad my self, there I have taken aire at the window, and have cited Authours on others citations; yet so that the stream may direct to the fountain.

If the reader may reap in few houres what cost me more moneths, just cause have I to rejoyce, and he (I hope) none to complain. Thus may the faults of this book redound to my self, the profit to others, the glory to God.

To his worthily deare friend,  
**THOMAS FULLER,**  
 B. D. upon his excellent work, the  
**HOLY WARRE.**

**P**Eace is thy Calling, friend; thy Title, Warre:  
 What, doth thy Title with thy Calling jarre?  
 The Holy warre! this makes the wonder cease:  
 An holy warre becomes a man of peace.

Tasso, be silent; my friend speaks: his Storie  
 Hath robb'd thy poeme of its long-liv'd glorie.  
 So rich his vein, his lines of so high state,  
 Thou canst not feigne so well as he relate.

Godfrey first entred on this warre, to free  
 His Saviours Tombe from Turks captivitie:  
 And too-too meanly of himself he deems,  
 If thus he his Redcemer not redeems.  
 A glorious end! nor did he fear to erre,  
 In losing life, to gain Christs Sepulchre.  
 But I dare say, were Godfrey now alive,  
 (Godfrey, who by thy penne must needs survive)  
 He would again act o're his noble toil,  
 Doing such deeds as should the former foil;  
 If for no other reason, yet to be  
 Deliver'd unto time and fame by thee:  
 Nor would he fear in such exploits to bleed,  
 Then to regain a Tombe, now not to need.

ROBERT GOMERSALL, Vicar of  
 Thomcombe in Devon.

**O**F this our Authours book I'll say but this,  
 (For that is praise ample enough) 'Tis his:  
 Nor all the Muses nor Apollo's layes  
 Can sing his worth; be his own lines his bayes.

ROBERT TYRLING.

A

On

On Mr FULLERS Historie of the  
HOLY WARRE.

Then, Christians, rest secure: ye need not band  
Henceforth in Holy leagues for th' Holy land,  
To conquer and recover't from the Turk:  
'Tis done already: FULLERS learned work  
And penne more honour to the cause doth bring,  
Then did Great Godfrey or our Lion-King.  
Jerusalem with darknesse long beset,  
Captiv'd to time more then to Mahomet,  
Intbrall'd to silence and oblivion  
(A bondage worse then that of Babylon)  
Is now redeem'd. Lo, by this sacred Story  
How she revives into her ancient glory!  
Look, how her bury'd pinnacles 'gin to peep  
Out of their venerable dust and sleep!  
See, how the Temple and the Sepulchre,  
Wak'd with the trumpet of this Holy warre  
From their own grave and ruines, do resent  
A resurrection by this monument!  
Stay, Pilgrimes, stay, wander not hence so farre;  
Set up your rest here in this Holy warre.  
Here you may visit and adore the Shrine  
For which so many Saints in arms combine.  
Behold the zealous squadrons, how they stand  
Arm'd with devotion for the Holy land.  
They'l take you, if not it: while ye admire  
Their zeal, your love will kindle at this fire.  
Thus learned FULLER a full conquest makes,  
Triumphs o're time, and mens affections, takes  
Captiv both it and them; his historie  
Me thinks is not a Warre, but Victorie:  
Where every line does crown (such strength it bears)  
The Authour Laureate, and a truphey rears.

JAMES DUPORT, B. D. T. C.

To

To his worthy and learned friend

Mr THO. FULLER, upon his excellently com-  
posed Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

Captain of Arts, in this thy Holy warre  
My Muse desires to be thy Trumpeter,  
In thy just praise to spend a blast or two:  
For this is all that she (poore thing) can do.

Peter the Hermite, like an angry owl,  
Would needs go fight all armed in his owl.  
What, had the Holy man nought else to do,  
But thus to lose his blond and credit too?  
Seeking to winne Christs Sepulchre, God wot,  
He found his own: This was the ground he got.  
Except he got more ground, when he one day  
Besieging Antioch fiercely ran away.  
Much wiser was the Pope: At home he stay'd,  
And made the world beleieve he wept and pray'd.  
Mean while (behold the fruit of feigned tears)  
He sets the world together by the eares.  
His head serves him, whilst others use their hands:  
Whilst Princes lose their lives, he gets their lands.  
To winne the Holy land what need Kings roam?  
The Pope can make an Holy land at home  
By making it his own: Then for a fashion,  
'Tis said to come by Constantines donation.  
For all this Fox-craft, I have leave (I hope)  
To think my friend farre wiser then the Pope  
And Hermite both: He deals in Holy warres  
Not as a stickler in those fruitlesse jarres,  
But a composer rather. Hence this book;  
Whereon whilst I with greedie eyes do look,  
Me thinks I travel through the Holy land,  
Viewing the sacred objects on each hand.  
Here mouns (me'thinks) like Olivet, brave sense;  
There flows a Jordan of pure eloquence:  
A Temple rich in ornament I find  
Presented here to my admiring mind.  
Strange force of Art! The ruin'd Holy citie  
Breeds admiration in me now, not pitie.  
To testify her liking, here my Muse  
Makes solemn Vows, as Holy Pilgrimes use.  
I vow, deare friend, the Holy warre is here  
Farre better writ then ever fought elsewhere.

A 2

Thousands

Thousands have fought and died: But all this while,  
 I vow, there nothing triumphs but thy style.  
 Thy wit hath vanquish'd Barbarisme more  
 Then ever Godfrey's valour did before.  
 Might I but chosse, I rather would by farre  
 Be authour of thy Book then of that Warre.  
 Let others fight; I vow to reade thy works,  
 Prizing thy ink before the blood of Turks.

J. BOOTH, B. D. C. C. C.

### On the Title of this book.

How comes stern Warre to be accounted holy,  
 By nature fierce, complexion melancholy?  
 Ile tell you how: Sh'as been at Rome of late,  
 And gain'd an indulgence to expiate  
 Her massacres; and by the Popes command  
 Sh'as bin a Pilgrime to the Holy land,  
 Where freeing Christians by a sacred plot,  
 She for her pains this Epithet hath got.

HUGO ATKINS.

Now need Jerusalem that holy mother  
 Envy old Troy; since she has found another  
 To write her battels, and her warres rehearse  
 In prose as elegant as Homers verse.  
 Let Sueton's name august as Cæsars be,  
 Curtius more worlds then Alexander see;  
 Let Joseph in his countreys siege survive,  
 And Phenix-like in his own ashes thrive:  
 Thy work, great FULLER, will out-live their glory,  
 And make thy memorie sacred as thy storie.  
 Thy style is clear and white: thy very name  
 Speaks purenesse, and addes lustre to the frame.  
 All men could wish, nay long, the world would jarre,  
 So thou'dst be pleas'd to write, compose the Warre.

H. HUTTON, M. A. C. Jes.

To

To my friend M<sup>r</sup> THOMAS FULLER, on  
 his book *The Holy Warre.*

While of thy book I speak, Friend, I sh<sup>al</sup>l think on  
 Thy Jordan for my purest Historian;  
 And for bifork'd Parnassus, I will set  
 My phantasie on the sacred Olivet.

'Tis holy ground which now my measur'd feet  
 Must tread on; then (as in due right 'tis meet)  
 Let them be bare and plain: for quainter arts  
 May sacrifice to thee without a heart;  
 And while it praiseth this thy work, may preach  
 His glory, rather then thy merits reach.

Here, Reader, thou may'st judge and well compare  
 Who most in madnesse, Jew or Romane, share:  
 This not so blind, yet in the clearest day  
 Does stumble still on stocks, on stones, on clay;  
 The other will in bright and highest noon  
 Chosse still to walk by glimmering light o'th' Moon.  
 Here thou may'st represented see the fight  
 Between our earthly Fleish and heavenly Spirit.  
 Lo, how the Turk doth drive with flaming sword  
 Salvation from him and Gods holy word,  
 As once the angel did rebellious vice  
 With Adam force from blessed paradise.  
 And this in style diamond-like doth shine,  
 Which firmest parts and clearest do combine,  
 And o're the sad ground of the Jewish storie  
 As light embroidrie exployes its glorie.  
 The Temple ras'd and ruin'd seems more high  
 In his strong phrase, then when it kiss'd the skie;  
 And as the Viper by those pretious tears  
 Which Phaeton bemon'd, of Amber wears  
 A rich (though fatall) coat; so here inclos'd  
 With words so rare, so splendent, so compos'd  
 Ev'n Mahomet has found a tombe, which shall  
 Last when the fainting Loadstone lets him fall.

HENRY VINTENER.

A 3

To

To his old friend M<sup>r</sup> FULLER.

I Love no warres,  
I love no jarres;  
Nor strifes fire:  
May discords cease;  
Let's live in peace;  
This I desire.

If it must be  
Warre we must see  
(So Fates conspire)  
May we not feel  
The force of steel;  
This I desire:

But in thy book  
When I do look  
And it admire;  
Let Warre be there,  
But 'Peace elsewhere;  
This I desire.

Tho. Jackson.

To his worthy Friend M<sup>r</sup> THOMAS  
FULLER on his book, *The Holy Warre.*

There's not a storie, Friend, in thy book sold,  
But is a jewell; each line a thred of gold:  
Though Warre sound harsh, and doth our minds affright,  
Yet cloth'd in well-wrought language doth delight;  
Such is thy gilded phrase, I joy to reade  
In thee massacres, and to see men bleed.  
Oft have I seen in hangings on a wall  
The ruines of great Troy, and Priams fall:  
A storie in it self so full of woe,  
It would make the Grecian weep that was the foe;  
But being wrought in arras, and made gay  
With rich embroydery makes th' beholder say,  
I like it well; This flame, that scarre is good;  
And then commends this wound, that stream of blood.  
Things in themselves distastfull are by art  
Made pleasant, and do much delight the heart:

Such

Such is thy book: Though it of blood relate,  
And horrid Warre whose very name we hate,  
Yet clad in arras-language, and thy phrase  
Doth not affright, but with delight amaze,  
And with such power upon our senses seise,  
That makes Warre, dreadfull in it self, to please.

WILLIAM JOHNSON, Q. Coll.

To his deare friend M<sup>r</sup> FULLER.

WE need not now those zealous vot'ries meet,  
Or pilgrimes turn; but on our verses feet.  
Thy quill hath wing'd the earth; the Holy land  
Doth visit us, commanded by thy hand.  
If envy make thy labours prove thy losse,  
No marvel, if a Croisade wear the Crosse.

CLEMENT BRETTON, Sidn. Coll.

Errata.

Page			
10	For	Sabell, Æn.	Read Sabell, Enn.
12			
72			
114			
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Last page of the Chronol. In the Table		Paulinus, Charatux, Noradine, Nanfe, Burbant, four Albergies, necessarie security, offerures, Peter Belius, Charatux,	Pontius. Characux. Coradine. Nuife. Bourbon. seven Albergies, necessarie severity, offers. Peter Belvise. Characux.

# The Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

## Book I.

### Chap. 1.

*The destruction of the citie and temple of Jerusalem by the Romanes under the conduct of Titus.*

Anno  
Dom.  
34.  
72.



Hen the Jews had made the full measure of their sinnes runne over by putting to death the Lord of life, Gods judgements (as they deserved, and our Saviour foretold ) quickly overtook them : for a mighty army of the Romanes besieged and sackt the citie of Jerusalem, wherein by fire, famine, sword, civil discord, & forreigne force \* eleven hundred thousand were put to death. An incredible number it seemeth: yet it cometh within the compasse of our belief, if we consider that the siege began at the time of the Pascheover, when in a manner all Judea was inclosed in Jerusalem, all private synagogues doing then their duties to the mother-temple; so that the citie then had more guests then inhabitants. Thus the Pascheover first \* instituted by God in mercie to save the Israelites from death, was now used by him in justice to hasten their destruction, and to gather the nation into a bundle to be cast into the fire of his anger. Besides those who were slain, ninetie seven thousand were taken captives; and they who had bought our Saviour for thirty pence, \* were themselves sold thirty for a penie. The Generall of the Romanes in this action was Titus, sonne to Vespasian the Emperour. A prince so good, that he was styled the \* *Darling of mankind* for his sweet and loving nature; (and pitie it was so good a stock had not been better grafted !) so vertuously disposed, that he may justly be counted the glory of all Pagans, and shame of most Christians. He laboured what lay in his power to have saved

B

\* Josephus,  
lib. 7. belli  
Jud. Gr. & Lat.  
c. 17.

\* Exod. 12.  
13.

\* Abicam. in  
Athen. Apoc.  
fol. 282. c. 1.  
do, ex Hiege-  
fippo.  
Suetonius in  
Tit.

ved the temple, and many therein, but the Jews by their obstinacie and desperatenesse made themselves incapable of any mercy. Then was the temple it self made a sacrifice, and burnt to ashes; and of that stately structure which drew the Apostles admiration, not a stone left upon a stone. The walls of the citie (more shaken with the finnes of the Jews defending them, then with the battering rammes of the Romanes assailling them) were levelled to the ground; onely three towres left standing to witnesse the great strength of the place, and greater valour of the Romanes who conquered it. But whilest this storm fell on the unbelieving Jews, it was calm amongst the Christians; who warned by Christs predictions, and many other prodigies, fled betimes out of the citie to Pella (a private place beyond Jordan) which served them in stead of a little Zoar to save them from the imminent destruction.

Euseb. Eccl.  
hist. lib. 3.  
cap. 5.

Anno  
Dom.  
~

## Chap. 2.

*How Judea was dispeopled of Jews by Adrian the Emperour.*

THreescore yeares after, Adrian the Emperour rebuilt the citie of Jerusalem, changing the situation somewhat westward, and the name thereof to Ælia. To despite the Christians, he built a temple over our Saviours grave, with the images of Jupiter and Venus; another at Bethlehem, to Adonis her minion: and to enrage the Jews, did engrave swine over the gates of the citie: Who storming at the profanation of their land, brake into open rebellion, but were subdued by Julius Severus the Emperours lieutenant, an experienced captain, and many thousands slain, with Bencochab their counterfeit Messias (for so he termed himself) that is, the *sonne of a starre*, usurping that prophesie, \* *Out of Jacob shall a starre arise*; though he proved but a fading comete, whose blazing portended the ruine of that nation. The captives, by order from Adrian, were transported into Spain; the country laid waste, which parted with her people and fruitfulness both together. Indeed pilgrimes to this day here and there light on parcels of rich ground in Palestine: which God may seem to have left, that men may tast the former sweetness of the land, before it was sowed for the peoples finnes; and that they may guesse the goodness of the cloth by the fineness of the shreds. But it is barren for the generality: the streams of milk and hony wherewith once it flowed, are now drained dry; and the whole face of the land looketh sad, not so much

\* Hieron. tom.  
1. pag. 104.

\* Num. 24. 17.

\* Sand. Trav.  
fol. 145.

132.

Anno  
Dom.  
~

much for want of dressing, as because God hath frowned on it. Yet great was the oversight of Adrian, thus totally to unpeople a province, and to bequeath it to foxes and leopards. Though his memory was excellent, yet here he forgot the old Romanes rule, who to prevent desolations, where they rooted out the natives, planted in colonies of their own people. And surely the country recovered not a competence of inhabitants for some hundred yeares after. For though many pilgrimes came thither in after-ages, yet they came rather to visit then to dwell: and such as remained there, most embracing single lives, were no breeders for posterity. If any say that Adrian did wilfully neglect this land, and prostitute it to ruine for the rebellion of the people, yet all account it small policie in him, in punishing the Jews to hurt his own empire, and by this vastation to leave fair and clear footing for forrein enemies to fasten on this country, and from thence to invade the neighbouring dominions: as after the Persians and Saracens easily overran and dispeopled Palestine; and no wonder if a thin meadow were quickly mown. But to return to the Jews, Such stragglers of them, not considerable in number, as escaped this banishment into Spain (for few hands reap so clean as to leave no gleanings) were forbidden to enter into Jerusalem, or so much as to behold it from any rise or advantage of ground. \* Yet they obtained of the after-Emperours, once a yeare (namely, on the tenth of August, whereon their citie was taken) to go in and bewail the destruction of their temple and people, bargaining with the souldiers who waited on them, to give so much for so long abiding there; and if they exceeded the time they conditioned for, they must stretch their purses to a higher rate: So that (as S. Hierome noteth) they who bought Christs blood, were then glad to buy their own tears.

\* Hieron.  
tom. 6. pag.  
256.

## Chap. 3.

*Of the present wofull condition of the Jews; and of the small hope, and great hindrances of their conversion.*

THus the main bodie of the Jews was brought into Spain, and yet they stretched their out-limbes into every country: so that it was as hard to find a populous citie without a common sink, as without a company of Jews. They grew fat on the barest pasture, by usurie and brokage; though often squeezed by those Christians amongst whom they lived, counting them dogs, and therefore easily finding a stick to beat them. And al-

B 2

waves



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Munster, Cos-  
mogr. p. 457.Polyd. Virg.  
pag. 327.Sandys Trav.  
pag. 146.\* P. Heylin,  
Microcos. in  
Palestine,  
pag. 570.  
S<sup>e</sup> Ed. Sandys  
Survey of the  
1178.

ways in any tumult, when the fense of order was broken, the Jews lay next harms: as at the coronation of Richard the first, when the English made great feasts, but the pillaged Jews paid the shot. At last for their many villanies (as falsifying of coin, poysoning of springs, crucifying of Christian children) they were slain in some places, and finally banished out of others: Out of England anno 1291 by Edward the first; France 1307, by Philip the Fair; Spain 1492, by Ferdinand; Portugall 1497, by Emmanuel. But had these two latter kings banished all Jewish blood out of their countreys, they must have emptied the veins of their best subjects, as descended from them. Still they are found in great numbers in Turkie; chiefly in Saloniehi, where they enjoy the freest slavery: and they who in our Saviours time so scorned Publicanes, are now most employed in that office, to be the Turks toll-gatherers: Likewise in the Popish parts of Germanie; in Poland, the Pantheon of all religions: and Amsterdam may be forfeited to the king of Spain, when she cannot shew a pattern of this as of all other sects. Lastly, they are thick in the Popes dominions, where they are kept as a testimonie of the truth of the Scriptures, and foyl to Christianitie, but chiefly in pretense to convert them. But his Holinesse his converting facultie worketh the strongest at the greatest distance: for the Indians he turneth to his religion, and these Jews he converteth to his profit. Some are of opinion of the generall calling of the Jews: and no doubt those who dissent from them in their judgements, concur in their wishes and desires. Yet are there three grand hindrances of their conversion: First, the offense taken and given by the Papists amongst whom they live, by their worshipping of images, the Jews being zelots in the second commandment: Secondly, because on their conversion they must \* renounce all their goods as ill gotten; and they will scarce enter in at the doore of our Church, when first they must climbe over so high a threshold: Lastly, they are debarred from the use of the New Testament, the means of their salvation. And thus we leave them in a state most pitifull, and little pitied.

Anno  
Dom.  
www

## Chap. 4.

*Of the flourishing Church in Judea under Constantine: Julian his succeſſe in building the temple.*

\* Epist. ad  
Paulinum;  
tom. 1. p. 104.

**A**Drian his profanation of Jerusalem lasted \* 180 yeares, as S. Hierome counteth it: during which time, the Christians under the ten persecutions had scarce a leap-yeare of peace and quiet,

Anno  
Dom.  
www

326.

quiet, and yet bare all with invincible patience; yea, some were too ambitious of martyrdom, and rather wooed then waited for their own deaths. At last, Constantine (a Britan by birth, as \* all authours agree, save one or two late wrangling Grecians, who deserve to be arraigned for felonie, for robbing our land of that due honour) stanchd the issue of bloud wherewith the Church had long been troubled, and brought her into acquaintance with peace and prosperitie. Then Helen his mother (no lesse famous amongst the Christians for her pietie, then the ancient Helen amongst Pagans for her beauty) travelled to Jerusalem; zeal made her scarce sensible of her age, being 80 years old: and there she purged mount Calvary and Bethlehem of idolatry; then built in the places of Christs birth, and buriall, and elsewhere in Palestine, many most stately and sumptuous churches. And because she visited the stable and manger of our Saviours nativite, Jews and Pagans slander her to have been \* *stabularia*, an Ostleresse or a she-stable-groom: The same nickname which since impudent Papists (not for the same reason, but with as little truth) put on reverend \* Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. But these dead flies were not able to corrupt the sweet ointment of her name, fragrant to posterity; and as a \* Father writeth of her, *Bona stabularia, quæ maluit æstimari stercoraria ut Christum lucrifaceret*. To her is ascribed the finding out of the Crosse, the memory whereof is celebrated the third of May. And from that time the Church flourished in Palestine, being as well provided of able Bishops, as they of liberall maintenance.

363.

Afterwards Julian going about to confute God, befooled himself, and many Jews. This Apostate studied to invent engines to beat down Christianity: yet all the vapours of his brain could not cloud so bright a sunne. He gave the Jews libertie (not so much out of love to them, as hatred to Christians) with money and materials to build again their temple, hoping by raising it to ruine the truth of Christs prophesie. \* Hither flocked the Jews with spades and mattocks of silver to clear the foundation; the women carried away the rubbish in their laps, and contributed all their jewels and ornaments to advance the work. But a sudden \* tempest made them desist, which carried away their tools and materials, with balls of fire which scorched the most adventurous of the builders. Thus they who sought to put out the truth of Christs words, by snuffing it made it burn the brighter. But the wonder of this wonder was, that the hearts of the Jews, and of him who set them on work, were hardened by obstinacie, to be so miracle-proof that all this made no impression in them. Yet \* afterwards, the Christians in the place where Solomons temple was, built a stately church: but

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Camden, Brit.  
248. 11.\* Ambros.  
cont. in Theod-  
dolum.\* Fox, Mart-  
tyrol. p. 1860.\* Ambros.  
ibid.\* Ammianus  
Marcel. lib.  
23. sub initio.\* Secret. Hist.  
Ecl. lib. 3.  
cap. 10.  
Theodoret,  
lib. 3. cap. 10.  
Socrum. lib. 5.  
cap. 22.\* Adricom.  
Descript.  
terra sanctæ,  
pag. 158.

6

but not in opposition to God, or with intent to reestablish Jewish rites, but in humilitie, and for the exercise of Christian religion: which church was long after the seat of the Patriarch. But for fear to exceed the commission of an Historian (who with the outward senses may onely bring in the *species*, and barely relate facts, not with the common sense passe verdict or censure on them) I would say, they had better have built in some other place, (especially having room enough besides) and left this floore where the temple stood, alone to her desolations. Yea, God seemeth not so well contented with this their act, the Christians being often beaten out of that church; and at this day \*whosoever (though casually) entreth therein, must either forfeit his life, or renounce his religion.

\*Sand. Trav.  
pag. 192.

## Chap. 5.

*Syria conquered by Chosroes; Chosroes, by Heraclius the Grecian Emperour.*

THE next remarkable alteration happened under Phocas the Emperour, who (saith \*Tyrius) had a nature answering his name, which signifieth a Seil, or Sea-calf: for as that fish (little better then a monster) useth lazily to lie sleeping and sunning it self on the shore, so this carelesse usurper minded nothing but his own ease and pleasure, till at last he was slain by Heraclius his successour: as seldome tyrants corpses have any other balm at their buriall, then their own blood. Phocas his negligence betrayed the Empire to forreign foes, and invited Chosroes the Persian to invade it, who with a great army subdued Syria and Jerusalem. A conquest little honourable, as made against small resistance, and used with lesse moderation: for besides many other cruelties, he sold many thousands of Christians to the Jews their old enemies, who in revenge of their former grudge, put them not onely to drudgery, but to torture. Chosroes to grace his triumph carried the Crosse away with him, forced all the Christians in Persia to turn \*Nestorians, and demanded of Heraclius the Grecian Emperour, that he should renounce his religion, and worship the \*Sun. Thus we see how light-headed this Pagan did talk, being stark drunk with pride. But the Christian Emperour entring Persia with great forces quelled at last this vaunting Sennacherib: for to him might he well be compared, for pride, crueltie, blasphemous demands, and the manner of his death, being also slain by Siroes one of his sonnes. Heraclius returning took Jerusalem in his way, and there resto-

Anno  
Dom.  
w.

610.

615.

628.

red

\*Bell. sacri  
lib. 23. cap. 12.

Theophanes  
in Annal.

\*Paulus Dia-  
conus, hiscel.  
lib. 18.  
\*Cedrenus.

Anno  
Dom.  
w.

red \*the Crosse (counted a precious jewel) to the temple of the Sepulchre, the cabinet whence it had been violently taken away, and in memoriall thereof, instituted on the 14 of September the feast of the Exaltation of the Crosse. Yet \*some make the celebration thereof of greater antiquitie: and the Grecians write, that Chrysostome (an hundred yeares before) died on the day called the Exaltation of the Crosse. This if it be true, and not antedated by a Prolepsis, then Heraclius gave the lustre (not first originall) to this festivall, and scoured bright an old holy-day with a new solemnitie.

7  
\*Tyrius, bell.  
sacr. lib. 23.  
cap. 20.  
\*Batonius, in  
Martyrolog.  
14 Sept.

## Chap. 6.

*Of the deluge of the Saracens in Syria, the causes of the farre spreading of Mahometanisme.*

BUT the sinnes of the Eastern countreys, and chiefly their damnable heresies, hastened Gods judgements upon them. In these Western parts, heresies like an angle caught single persons; which in Asia, like a drag-net, took whole provinces. The stayed and settled wits of Europe were not easily removed out of the old roade and tract of religion, whiles the active and nimble heads of the East were more desirous of novelties, more cunning to invent distinctions to cozen themselves with, more fluent in language to expresse their conceits, as alwayes errors grow the fastest in hot brains. Hence it came to passe, that Melchites, Maronites, Nestorians, Eutycheans, Jacobites, overspread these parts, maintaining their pestilent tenents with all obstinacy, which is that dead flesh which maketh the green wound of an error fester by degrees into the old sore of an heresie. Then was it just with God to suffer them who would not be convinced with Christian Councils, to be subdued by the Pagans sword: For though Chosroes had not long a settled government in Palestine, but as a land-floud came and went away quickly; yet the Saracens who shortly followed, as standing water drowned all for a long continuance. \*These under Haumar Prince of Arabia, took Jerusalem, conquered Syria, and propagated the doctrine of Mahomet round about.

636.

\*Tyrius,  
bell. sacr.  
lib. 1. pag. 2.

It may justly seem admirable how that senselesse religion should gain so much ground on Christianitie, especially having neither reall substance in her doctrine, nor winning behaviour in her ceremonies to allure professors. For what is it but the scumme of Judaisme and Paganisme sod together, and here and there strewed over with a spice of Christianitie? As Mahomet's tombe,

tombe, so many sentences in his Alcoran seem to hang by some secret loadstone, which draweth together their gaping independences with a mysticall coherence, or otherwise they are flat non-sense. Yet this wonder of the spreading of this leprosie is lessened, if we consider that besides the generall causes of the growing of all errors (namely the gangrene-like nature of evil, and the justice of God to deliver them over to beleeeve lies who will not obey the truth) Mahometanism hath raised it self to this height by some peculiar advantages: First, by permitting much carnall libertie to the professors (as having many wives) and no wonder if they get fish enough, that use that bait: Secondly, by promising a paradise of sensuall pleasure hereafter, wherewith flesh and bloud is more affected (as falling under her experience) then with hope of any spirituall delights: Thirdly, by prohibiting of disputes, and suppressing of all learning; and thus Mahomet made his shop dark on purpose, that he might vent any wares: Lastly, this religion had never made her own passage so fast and so farre, if the sword had not cut the way before her, as commonly the conquered follow for the most part the religion of the conquerours. By this means that cursed doctrine hath so improved it self, that it may outvie with professors the Church of Rome, which boasteth so much of her latitude and extent; though from thence to inferre that her faith is the best, is falsely to conclude the fineness of the cloth from the largeness of the measure.

Now the condition of the Christians under these Saracens was as uncertain as April-weather. Sometimes they enjoyed the libertie and publick exercise of their religion: and to give the Mahometans their due, they are generally good-fellows in this point, and Christians amongst them may keep their consciences free, if their tongues be fettered not to oppose the doctrine of Mahomet. Sometimes they were under fierce and cruel affliction, their Bishops and Ministers forced to flie from their places were kept very poore, as alwayes the Clergie under persecution count that God gives them living enough, when he gives them their lives. Tyrius \* mentioneth one memorable massacre, which they narrowly escaped. For a spitefull and malicious Saracen had secretly defiled one of their Mosques in Jerusalem; which deed being imputed to the poore Christians, they were all presently dragged to the place of execution to be put to death, when behold a young man, a zealous Christian, by an officious lie (the most lawfull of all unlawfull things) confessed himself alone to be guilty of the fact, and so being killed by exquisite torments, saved the lives of many innocents. In memorie of which act, the Christians in Jerusalem kept a constant solemnity, and once a yeare triumphantly marched with palms

Anno  
Dom.  
800.

\* Lib. 1. cap. 5.

Anno  
Dom.  
800.

palms in their hands into the citie, to perpetuate the remembrance of this deliverance. The longest vacation from persecution they enjoyed, was when \* Charles was Emperour of the West, surnamed the Great: a surname which he did not steal, but justly win and deserve; not like Pompey, who got the title of the Great, though as Cesar observed he gained his chief fame for martiall feats, by conquering the weak and cowardly Bithynians. But this Charles, loved of his friends, feared of his foes, subdued the strong and lusty Lombards: yet did he not Christianitie more good by his warre, then by his peace concluded with Aaron Emperour of the Saracens, under whom the Christians in Palestine obtained many priviledges and much prosperities; though this weather was too fair to last long.

\* Tyrius,  
lib. 1. cap. 3.

Suetonius, in  
Cesar.

## Chap. 7.

## The originall and increase of the Turks; their conquering the Saracens, and taking of Jerusalem.

BUT the Christians in Palestine afterward changed their masters, though not their condition, being subdued by the Turks. It will be worth our and the Readers pains to enquire into the originall of this nation, especially because (as the river Nilus) they are famous and well known for their overflowing stream, though hidden and obscure for their fountain. Whence they first came authors onely do agree in disagreeing: but most probable it is out of Scythia, \* Pomponius Mela reckoning them among the inhabitants of that countrey nigh the river Tanais. This Scythia (since called Tartaria) was a virgin-countrey, never forced by forreign arms: for the Monarchs who counted themselves conquerours of the world (by a large Synecdoche taking a sixth part for the whole) never subdued it. Alexander sent some troupes to assault Naura and Gabaza, two out-counties thereof, as an earnest that the rest of his army should follow: but hearing how these were welcomed, willingly lost his earnest, and disposed of his army otherwise. The Romane eagles flew not thus farre, and though heard of, were never seen here. The reasons that made the Turks leave their native soyl, was the barrenness thereof; and therefore the \* Poet maketh famine (which sometimes travelleth abroad into other countreys) here to have her constant habitation. And yet no doubt so vast a countrey would maintain her people, if the wildness thereof were tamed with husbandry: But the people (scorning that their ground should be better civilized

\* Lib. 1.  
cap. ult.

\* Ovid. 8.  
Metam.

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then

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then themselves) never manue it; and had rather provide their bread with the sword then with the plough. Other partiall causes might share in these Turks remouall, but the cause of causes was the iustice of God, to suffer this unregarded people to grow into the terrour of the world for the punishment of Christians: and we may iustly hope, that when the correction is done the rod shall be burnt; especially finding already their force to abate, being at this day stopt with the half-kingdome of Hungarie, who formerly could not be stayed by the whole Empire of Greece.

S. bell. & an.  
9. lib. 2.

The first step these Turks took out of their own countrey was into Turcomania, a northern part of Armenia, conquered and so called by them: where they lived like the Scythian Nomades, alwayes wandring yet alwayes in their way, none claiming a propriety in the land as his, all defending the common interest therein as theirs.

The next step was into Persia, whither they were called to assist Mahomet the Saracen Sultan against his enemies; where taking notice of their own strength, the Saracens cowardize, and the pleasure of Persia, they under Tangrolipix their first king overcame that large dominion. Then did the Turks take upon them the Mahometan religion, and having conquered the Saracens by their valour, were themselves subdued by the Saracen superstition. An accident more memorable because not easily to be paralleled (excepting King \*Amaziah, who having taken Edom was took with the idolatry thereof) because conquerours commonly bring their religion into the places they subdue, and not take it thence.

Krollers, Tur.  
bist. pag. 4.

\* 2 Chron.  
25. 14.

Their third large stride was into Babylon, the Caliph whereof they overcame. And shortly after under Cutlu-muses their second king, they wan Mesopotamia, the greatest part of Syria, and the citie of \*Jerusalem. Mean time whilest these vultures (Turks and Saracens) pecked out each others eyes, the Christians (if they had husbanded this occasion) might much have advantaged themselves, and might have recovered their health by these contrary poysons expelling each other. But the Grecian Emperours given over to pleasure and covetousnesse, regarded not their own good, till at last the Turks devoured them; as (God willing) shall be shewed hereafter. As for those Christians who lived in Palestine under the Turks, they had no lease of their safetie, but were tenants at will for their lives and goods to these tyrants: though it rained not down-right, yet the storm of persecution hung over their heads; their minds were ever in torture, being on the rack of continuall fear and suspense; and Simon himself was no better then an honourable slave, though Patriarch of Jerusalem, as appeareth by his letters of complaint.

\* Tyrinus,  
lib. 1. cap. 7.

\* Krollers Tur.  
bist. pag. 13.

Anno  
Dom.  
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Chap.

Anno  
Dom.  
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Chap. 8.

11

The character of Peter the Hermite; his soliciting the Holy warre; the Councel at Clermont, and the succeffe thereof.

IT happened there came a pilgrime to Jerusalem called Peter, an Hermite, born at Amiens in France; one of a contemptible person: His silly looks carried in them a despair of any worth; and yet (as commonly the richest mines lie under the basest and barrenest surface of ground) he had a quick apprehension, eloquent tongue, and what got him the greatest repute, was accounted very religious. With him Simon the Patriarch of Jerusalem often treated, concerning the present miseries of the Christians under the Turks; what hope of amendment; and how the matter might secretly be contrived, that the Princes in Europe might assist and relieve them. Peter moved with the Patriarchs perswasions, the equitie and honourableness of the cause, and chiefly with a vision (as they say) from \* heaven (wherein our Saviour himself appointed him his Legate, with a commission to negotiate the Christian cause) took the whole businesse upon him, and travelled to Rome to consult with Pope Urbane the second about the advancing of so pious a designe.

1094

\* Tyrinus, lib. 1.  
cap. 12.

Now, though many cry up this Hermite to have been so precious a piece of holinesse, yet \* some suspect him to be little better then a counterfeit, and a cloke-father for a plot of the Popes begetting: because the Pope alone was the gainer by this great adventure, and all other Princes of Europe, if they cast up their audit, shall find themselves losers: This with some is a presumption, that this cunning merchant first secretly employed this Hermite to be his factour, and to go to Jerusalem to set on foot so beneficiall a trade for the Romish Church. As for the apparition of our Saviour, one may wonder that the world should see most visions when it was most blind; and that that age most barren in learning, should be most fruitfull in revelations. And surely had Peter been truly inspired by God, and moved by his Spirit to begin this warre, he would not have apostated from his purpose: so mortified a man would not have feared death in a good cause, as he did afterwards, and basely ran away at \* Antioch. For when the siege grew hot, his devotion grew cold; he found a difference betwixt a voluntary fast in his cell, and a necessary and undispensible famine in a camp: so that being well hunger-pincht, this cunning companion who was the

\* Crisostom.  
Chron. pag.  
127. Quem  
tamen postea  
multi hypo-  
critam fuisse  
dicebant.

\* Sabell. San.  
9. lib. 3. col.  
317.  
Et \* Emilias,  
Dig. B. Franc.  
pag. 123. in  
Philippo 10.

C 2

trum.

12

\* U. delector  
signorum, fra-  
trum com-  
militonibus  
proctor.

\* Sabell. *En.*  
9. lib. 3.  
Tyrinus, *lib. 1.*  
cap. 15.  
Baron. *Anno*  
1095.  
11. *Malmsh.*  
*lib. 4. cap. 2.*  
All have se-  
veral les-  
sons.

\* Baronius, in  
*Anno 1095.*  
col. 688.

\* Baronius, in  
*Anno 1096.*  
col. 691.

\* Sabell. *En.*  
9. lib. 3. pag.  
354.

\* Baronius,  
*tom. 1. 1. pag.*  
691.

\* Livius, *lib.*  
45.

trumpet to sound a march to others, secretly founded a retreat to himself, ran away from the rest of the Christians, and was shamefully brought back again for a \* fugitive.

But to return to Pope Urban, who was zealous in the cause to further it, and called a Council at Clermont in France, where met many Princes and Prelates to whom he made a long oration; \* Authours differ in the mould, but they agree in the metall, that it was to this effect: First, he bemoaned the miseries of the Christians in Asia, and the vastation of those holy places. Jerusalem, which was once the joy of the whole earth, was now become the grief of all good men: the Chapell of Christs conception, at Nazareth; birth, at Bethlehem; buriall, on mount Calvarie; ascension, on mount Olivet, once the fountains of piety, were now become the sinks of all profanecesse. Next, he encouraged the Princes in the Council, to take arms against those infidels, and \* to break their bonds in sunder, and to cast their cords farre from them, and (as it is written) to cast out the handmaid and her children. Otherwise, if they would not help to quench their neighbours houses, they must expect the speedy burning of their own, and that these barbarous nations would quickly overrun all Europe. Now to set an edge on their courage, he promised to all that went this voyage, a full remission of their sinnes & penance here, and the enjoying heaven hereafter. Lastly, thus concluded, \* Gird your swords to your thighs, O ye men of might. It is our parts to pray, yours to fight; ours with Moses to hold up unwearied hands to God, yours to stretch forth the sword against these children of Amalek. Amen.

It is above belief with what cheerfulness this motion, meeting with an active and religious world, was generally entertained; so that the whole assembly cried out, \* God willeth it: A speech which was afterwards used as a fortunate watch-word in their most dangerous designs. Then took many of them a crosse of red cloth on their right shoulder, as a badge of their devotion: And to gain the favourable assistance of the Virgin Mary to make this warre the more happy, her \* Office was instituted, containing certain prayers, which at Canonickall houres were to be made unto her. If fame, which hath told many a lie of others, be not herein belied by herself, the things concluded in this Council, were the same night reported at impossible distance in the utmost parts of Christendome. What spirituall intelligencers there should be, or what echoes in the hollow arch of this world should so quickly resound news from the one side thereof to the other, belongeth not to us to dispute. Yet we find the \* overthrow of Perseus brought out of Macedon to Rome in four dayes; & fame (mounted no doubt on some Pegasus) in Domitians time, brought a report 2500 miles in one day.

Chap.

Anno  
Dom.

1095

13

Anno  
Dom.

## Chap. 9.

*Arguments for the lawfulnessse of the Holy warre.*

IT is stiffely canvased betwixt learned men, whether this warre was lawfull, or not. The reasons for the affirmative are fetcht either from piety or policie: And of the former sort are these.

1. All the earth is Gods land let out to tenants; but Judea was properly his demesnes, which he kept long in his own hands for himself and his children. Now though the infidels had since violently usurped it, yet no prescription of time could prejudice the title of the King of Heaven, but that now the Christians might be Gods champions to recover his interest.

2. Religion bindeth men to relieve their brethren in distresse, especially when they implore their help, as now the \* Christians in Syria did; whose intreaties in this case, founded commands in the eares of such as were piously disposed.

3. The Turks by their blasphemies and reproches against God and our Saviour, had disinherited and devested themselves of all their right to their lands; and the Christians, as the next undoubted heirs, might seize on the forfeiture.

4. This warre would advance and increase the patrimony of Religion, by propagating the Gospel, and converting of infidels. If any object that Religion is not to be beaten into men with the dint of sword; yet it may be lawfull to open the way by force, for instruction, catechising, and such other gentle means to follow after.

5. The beholding of those sacred places in Palestine would much heighten the adventurers devotion, and make the most frozen heart to melt into pious meditations.

6. \* This enterprize was furthered by the persuasions of sundry godly men, S. Bernard, and others. Now though a lying spirit may delude the prophets of Achab, yet none will be so uncharitable as to think God would suffer his own Michaiah to be deceived.

7. \* God set his hand to this warre, and approved it by many miracles which he wrought in this expedition, and which are so confidently and generally reported by credit-worthy writers, that he himself is a miracle that will not beleve them.

Neither want there arguments derived from policie.

1. Palestine was a parcell of the Romane Empire, though since won by the Saracens: and though the Emperour of Constantinople could not recover his right, yet did he always continue his claim, and now (as \* appeared by his letters read in the Placentine Council) Alexius requested these Princes of the West to assist him in the recovery thereof.

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\* Tyrinus,  
*lib. 1. cap. 11.*

\* Bellarm. *lib.*  
3. *de Rom.*  
*Pont. cap. 17.*

\* Ibidem.

\* Baronius,  
*tom. 1. 1. pag.*  
687.

2. A preventive warre grounded on a just fear of an invasion is lawfull: But such was this Holy warre. And because most stresse is laid on this argument, as the main supporter of the cause, we will examine and prove the parts thereof.

Though umbrages and light jealousies created by cowardly fantasies be too narrow to build a fair quarrel on; yet the lawfulness of a preventive warre founded on just fear, is warranted by reason and the practice of all wise nations. In such a case it is folly to do as country-fellows in a fence-school, never ward a blow till it be past: but it is best to be before-hand with the enemy, lest the medicine come too late for the maladie. In such dangers to play an after-game, is rather a shift then a policie: especially seeing warre is a tragedy which alwayes destroyeth the stage whereon it is acted; it is the most advised way, not to wait for the enemy, but to seek him out in his own country.

Now that the Mahometans (under whom the Turks and Saracens are comprehended, differing in nation, agreeing in religion and spite against Christians) were now justly to be feared, cannot be denied. So vast was the appetite of their sword, that it had already devoured Asia; and now reserved Grecia for the second course. The Bosphorus was too narrow a ditch, and the Empire of Grecia too low an hedge to fence the Pagans out of West-Christendome: yea, the Saracens had lately wasted \* Italy, pillaged and burned many churches neare Rome it self, conquered Spain, invaded Aquitain, and possessed some islands in the mid-land-sea. The case therefore standing thus, this Holy warre was both lawfull and necessarie: which like unto a sharp pike in the bosse of a buckler, though it had a mixture of offending, yet it was chiefly of a defensive nature, to which all preventive warres are justly reduced.

Lastly, this warre would be the sewer of Christendome, and drain all discords out of it. For active men like mill-stones in motion, if they have no other grist to grind, will set fire one on another. Europe at this time surfered with people, and many of them were of stirring natures, who counted themselves undone, when they were out of doing; and therefore they employed themselves in mutuall jarres and contentions: But now this Holy warre would make up all breaches, and unite all their forces against the common foe of Christianitie.

Anno  
Dom.  
w

\* Sabell. Enn.  
9. lib. 3. pag.  
354.

Anno  
Dom.  
w

## Chap. 10.

## Reasons against the Holy warre.

YEt all these reasons prevail not so forcibly, but that \* many are of the contrary opinion, and count this warre both needlesse and unlawfull, induced thereunto with these or the like arguments.

1. When the Jews were no longer Gods people, Judea was no longer Gods land by any peculiar appropriation; but on the other side, God stamped on that country an indelible character of desolation, and so scorched it with his anger, that it will never change colour, though Christians should wash it with their blood. It is labour in vain therefore for any to endeavour to reestablish a flourishing kingdome in a blasted country: and let none ever look to reap any harvest, who sow that land which God will have to lie fallow.

2. Grant the Turks were no better then dogs, yet were they to be let alone in their own kennel. They and the Saracens their predecessours, had now enjoyed Palestine foure hundred and sixty yeares: Prescription long enough to sodder the most crackt title, and not onely to corroborate but to create a right. Yea, God himself may seem herein to allow their title, by suffering them so long peaceably to enjoy it.

3. To visit those places in Jerusalem (the theatre of so many mysteries and miracles) was as uselesse as difficult; and might be superstitious if any went (as it is to be feared too many did) with placing transcendent holinesse in the place, and with a wooden devotion to the materiall Crosse. The \* Angel sent the women away from looking into the sepulchre, with *He is risen, he is not here*; and thereby did dehort them and us, from burying our affections in Christs grave, but rather to seek him where he was to be found. At this day a gracious heart maketh every place a Jerusalem, where God may as well and as acceptably be worshipped. S. Hilarion \* though he lived in Palestine saw Jerusalem but once, and then onely because he might not seem to neglect the holy places for their nearnesse and vicinitie. And S. Hierome (though himself lived at Bethlechem) dissuaded Paulinus from coming thither; for the pains would be above the profit.

4. Lastly, this warre was a quicksand to swallow treasure, and of a hot digestion to devour valiant men: no good, much evil came thereby; and the Christians that went out to seek an enemy in Asia, brought one thence, to the danger of all Europe, and the losse of a fair part thereof. For though

\* Job. Cam-  
manni, De  
Jure Majest.  
Tibet. 22. Et  
Albert. Aya.  
Cris. Hierosol.  
lib. 4. cap. 28.  
Et Reineccius  
in Pref. hist.  
Orient.

\* Matth. 28. 6

\* Hieron.  
tom. 1. pag.  
103. in Epist.  
ad Paulinum.

—Careat successibus opto,  
Quisquis ab eventu facta notan-  
da putet:

—may be newer speed,  
Who from the issue censures of  
the deed:

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and though an argument fetcht from the successe is but a cyphre in it self, yet it increaseth a number when joyned with others.

These reasons have moved the most \* moderate and refined Papists, and all Protestants generally in their judgements to fight against this Holy warre. But as for the opinion of Bibliander ( who therein stands without company ) if \* Bellarmine hath truly reported it, it is as farre from reason, as charity; namely, that these Christians that went to fight against the Saracens, were the very army of Gog and Magog spoken of by the prophet \* Ezekiel. Yet must we not here forget, that such as at this time went to Jerusalem (whether ridiculously, or blasphemously, or both, let others judge) did carry a \* goose before them, pretending it to be the holy Ghost.

\* Vide Besoldum, De re-  
gibus Hieros.  
pag. 99. &  
sequenti-  
bus.  
\* Lib. 3. De  
Rom. Pont.  
cap. 17.

\* Ezek. 38. 3.

\* Aventinus,  
lib. 5. Annal.

## Chap. II.

*The private ends and profits of the Pope, which he  
is charged by authours to have had in this Holy  
warre.*

IT is enough with some to make it suspicious that there were some sinister ends in this warre, because Gregory the seventh, otherwise called Hildebrand (and by Luther, \* *Larva diaboli*) the worst of all that sat in that chair, first began it: but death preventing him, Urbane the second (whom Cardinall Benno called \* Turbane for troubling the whole world) effected it. And though the pretences were pious and plausible, yet no doubt the thoughts of his Holinesse began where other mens ended, and he had a privie project beyond the publick designe;

First, to reduce the \* Grecians into subjection to himself with their three Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Constantino-ple, and to make the Eastern Church a Chapell of ease to the Mother-Church of Rome.

Secondly, this warre was the Popes house of Correction, whither he sent his sturdie and stubborn enemies to be tamed. Such high-spirited men whom he either feared or suspected, he condemned to this employment, as to an honourable banishment: and as Saul being afraid of David sent him to fight against the Philistines, that so he might fall by their sword; so the Pope

had

\* In h<sup>u</sup> Chrono-  
logie.

\* Baluz, in  
Rom. Pont.  
in Urban. 2.

\* Matt. Driff.  
De bello sacr.  
cited by Lam-  
padius Melli-  
fic. histor.  
part. 3. pag.  
166.

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w

had this cleanly and unsuspected conveyance to \* rid away those he hated, by sending them against infidels. This appeared most plainly in the matter of the Emperour himself, whom he sent from home, that so he might rob his house in his absence. At the beginning of this warre, the Popes temporall power in Italy was very slender, because the Emperours dominions did gird him close and hard on all sides: but soon after he grew with- in short time without all measure, and did lurch a castle here, gain a citie there from the Emperour, whiles he was employed in Palestine: So that by the time that the Christians had lost all in Syria, the Emperour had lost all in Italy, his dominions there being either swallowed up by Peters patrimony, or by private Princes and upstart free-states, which as so many splinters flew out of the broken Empire.

Thirdly, hereby the Pope determined on his side the gain-fullest controversie that ever was in Christendome. This was about the investiture of Bishops, whether the right lay in the Pope or in secular Princes. Now his Holinesse diverted this question out of Princes heads, by opening an issue another way, and gave vent to the activitie of their spirits in this martiall im- ployment, and in the mean time quietly went away without any corrvall, concluding the controversie for his own profit.

Lastly, he got a masse of money by it. He had the office to bear the bag, and what was put into it, as contributed to this action from pious people, and expended but some few drops of the showres he received. Guesse the rest of his griping tricks from this one which \* Matth. Paris reporteth. First, he prompt- ed many people in England unfit for arms, to take upon them a vow to go to the Holy warre, and this was done by the exhor- tation and preaching of the Friars. This done, he compelled and forced those Votaries ( whose purses were more usefull for this service then their persons ) to commute their journey into money, the payment whereof should be as meritorious as their pilgrimage. And thus scraped he a masse of coin from such silly people as thought themselves cleansed of their sinnes when they were wiped of their money, and who having made themselves slaves to the Pope by their rash vow, were glad to buy their libertie at his price.

As the Pope, so most of the Clergie improved their estates by this warre: for the secular Princes who went this voyage, sold or mortgaged most of their means (selling for gold to pur- chase with steel and iron) and the Clergie were generally their chapmen. For they advised these undertakers, seeing this ac- tion was for Christ and his Church, rather to make over their estates to spirituall men, of whom they might again redeem the same, and from whom they should be sure to find the fairest

D

dealing,

\* See Daniel,  
in Henry the  
third, pag.  
141.

\* Hist. Angl.  
pag. 703. &  
703. Diversis  
multipulis  
simplicem  
Dei populum  
substantia sua  
moliebatur  
Romana cu-  
ria privare,  
nihil petens  
nisi aurum &  
argentum.



18

\* *Emilius*,  
De gest. Fran.  
pag. 109.  
\* *Daniel*, in  
Henry first,  
pag. 49.

dealing, then to lay-men. \* Godfrey Duke of Bouillon sold that Dukedome to the Bishop of Liege; and the castle of Sartenf and Monfa, to the Bishop of Verdune. Baldwine his brother sold him the citie of Verdune. Yea, by these sales the third part of the best feoffs in France came to be possessed by the Clergie, who made good bargains for themselves, and had the conscience to buy earth cheap, and to sell heaven deare. Yea, this voyage laid the foundation of their temporall greatnesse, till at last the daughter devoured the mother, and wealth impaired religion.

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## Chap. 12.

## The qualitie and condition of those people who undertook the warre.

IT is not to be expected that all should be fish which is caught in a drag-net, neither that all should be good and religious people who were adventurers in an action of so large a capacite as this warre was. We must in charitie allow, that many of them were truly zealous and went with pious intents. These were like to those of whom Bellarmine speaketh, who had no fault *prater uimiam sanctitatem*, too much sanctitie, which \* a learned man interpreteth, too much superstition. But besides these well-meaning people, there went also a rabble-rout, rather for companie then conscience. \* Debtors took this voyage on them as an acquittance from their debts, to the defrauding of their creditors: Servants counted the conditions of their service cancelled by it, going away against their masters will: Thieves and murderers took upon them the crosse, to escape the gallows: Adulterers did penance in their armour. A lamentable case that the devils black guard should be Gods souldiers. And no wonder if the successe was as bad as some of the adventurers, especially seeing they retained their old conditions under a new climate. And (as if this voyage had been like to repentance, never too soon nor too late for any to begin) not onely green striplings unripe for warre, but also decayed men to whom age had given a wit of ease, became souldiers; and those who at home should have waited on their own graves, went farre to visit Christs sepulchre. And which was more, women (as if they would make the tale of the Amazons true) went with weapons in mens clothes; a behaviour at the best immodest, and modesty being the case of chastitie, it is to be feared that where the case is broken, the jewel is lost. This enterprize was also the mother

\* *Whitaker*,  
Direct. con-  
tro. 2. cap. 11

\* *Albers. Aqu.*  
in Chron. Eie-  
rosol. lib. 1.  
cap. 2.

*Tyrus*,  
lib. 1. cap. 16.

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Dom.  
w

ther of much non-residence, many Prelates and Friars (fitter to handle a pen-knife then a sword) left their covents and pastorall charges to follow this businesse. The totall summe of those pilgrime-souldiers amounted to three hundred thousand; and \* some writers do double that number. No doubt the Christians army had been greater, if it had been lesse: for the belly was too big for the head; and a medley of nations did rather burden then strengthen it. Besides, the armie was like a cloth of many colours, and more seams; which seams though they were curiously drawn up for the present, yet after long wearing began to be seen, and at last brake out into open rents.

19

\* *Adamus*,  
lib. 4. pag. 133

## Chap. 13.

## The adventurers sorted according to their severall nations.

THE French, Dutch, Italian, and English were the foure elementall nations whereof this army was compounded: of these the French were predominant; they were the cape-merchants in this adventure. That nimble nation first apprehended the project, and eagerly prosecuted it. As their language wanteth one proper word to expresse *Stand*, so their natures mislike a settled, fixed posture, and delight in motion and agitation of businesse: Yea, France (as being then best at leisure) contributed more souldiers to this warre then all Christendome besides. The signall men were, Hugh surnamed le Grand brother to the King of France, Godfrey Duke of Bouillon, Baldwine and Eustace his younger brethren, Stephen Earl of Bloys father to Stephen afterwards King of England, Reimund Earl of Tholouse, Robert Earl of Flanders, Hugh Earl of Saint-Paul, Baldwine de Burge, with many more; besides of the Clergie, Aimar Bishop of Puy and Legate to the Pope, and William Bishop of Orange.

Germanie is slandered to have sent none to this warre at this first voyage; and that other pilgrimes passing through that countrey, were mocked by the Dutch and called \* fools for their pains. It is true, the Germane adventurers in number answered not the largenesse and populousnesse of their countrey: for Henry the Emperour (a Prince whom the Pope long hacked at, and hewed him off at last) \* being desirous to go this voyage, was tied up at home with civill discords. Yet we find a competence of souldiers of that nation, besides those under Godescalcus a Priest, Emmicho the Rhene-grave, and Count Herman their leaders. But though Germanie was backward at

\* *Centurius*,  
ex Ursperg.  
cent. 11. col.  
416.

\* *Pantaleon*,  
De viris Ger.  
part. 3. pag.  
139.



the first, yet afterwards it proved the main Atlas of the warre: that nation like a heaue bell was long a raising, but being got up made a loud found.

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Dom.

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\* Daniel, in  
will. the se-  
cond, pag. 49.

Italy sent few out of her heart and middle provinces nigh Rome. The Pope was loth to adventure his darlings into danger: those white-boys were to stay at home with his Holinesse their tender father: Wherefore\* he dispensed with them for going, as knowing how to use their help nearer, and to greater profit. Peters patrimonie must as well be looked to, as Christs sepulchre. But though the Pope would spend none of his own fewel, he burnt the best stakes of the Emperours hedge, and furthered the Imperiall partie to consume it self in this tedious warre. Out of the furthest parts of Italie, Boemund Prince of Tarentum, and Tancred his nephew (both of the Normane seed, though growing on the Apulian soyl) led an army of twelve thousand men. And Lombardy was also very liberrall of her souldiers towards this expedition.

Daniel, ut  
prius.

England (the Popes pack-horse in that age, which seldome rested in the stable when there was any work to be done) sent many brave men under Robert Duke of Normandy, brother to William Rufus, as Beauchamp, and others, whose names are lost. Neither surely did the Irish-mens feet stick in their bogs, though we find no particular mention of their achievements.

\* Amilius,  
De gest. Fran.  
pag. 109.

Spaia had other use for her swords against the Saracens at home, and therefore sent none of her men abroad. As\* one faith, The Spaniards did follow their own Holy warre, a work more necessary, and no lesse honourable. Thus they acted the same part, though not on the same stage with our Pilgrimes, as being also employed in fight against the infidels.

Poland had the same excuse for not much appearing clean through this warre; because she lieth bordering on the Tartars in her appendant cuntry of Lituania, and therefore was buied in making good her frontiers. Besides, no wonder if Prussia, Lituania, and Livonia were not up in this service; for it was scarce break of day with them, and the sunne of the Gospel was newly (if at all) risen in those parts. Yea, Poland was so farre from sending men hither, that she fetcht them from hence, \*and afterwards implored the aid of the Teutonic order, who came out of Palestine to assist her against her enemies.

\* Anusker,  
Cosmog.

Hungary might bring filling-stones to this building, but few foundation or corner-stones, and at this time had no commander of note in this action.

Scotland also presenteth us not with any remarkable piece of service which her men performed in all this warre. It was not want of devotion, which was hot enough in that cold cuntry: rather we may impute it to want of shipping, that cuntry be-  
ing

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w

ing little powerfull at sea: or (which is most probable) the actions of this nation are hidden, as wrapped up in the bundle with some others; I should guesse under the French, but the intimacie of those two people is of a farre later date.

Denmark and Norway neare-acquainted with the Arctick pole, though they lagged the last, (and may therein be excused because of the length of the way) were sharers in the honour of this imployment, and performed good sea-service.

Sweden either acted not at all, or else had a very short part in this businesse. That cuntry being a separatist because of her remote situation, had little communion with other parts of Europe. And indeed histories are mute of Sweden, but that of late Gustavus his victorie hath put a tongue into them, and hath made that cuntry famous to all posteritie.

## Chap. 14.

## The sad beginning of the warre.

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Mar.

8

Their first setting forth was checked with bad successe. For Walter Senfaver a noble man (but what cuntry-man it is unknown)\* who had more of the fait of valour then balast of judgement, led forth an ill-grown and unproportioned armie, with many thousand foot, and \* eight horsemen onely. But we must not think that this fowl should flie farre, whose wings were so short, and train so long. His men were routed and slain by the Bulgarians, and he himself through many miseries scarce recovered Constantinople. Peter the Hermite with his army went further to meet his own destruction. For after many difficulties having crossed the Bosporus, they came into Asia, and there found some cities forsaken by the Turks their inhabitants. This they imputed to their enemies fear, which proceeded from their policie: and therefore being more greedy to pillage, then carefull to fortifie the places they took, hunted after preys so long till they became one themselves. Hugh brother to the King of France, with his surname of the Great, had as little successe as the former, his armie being quickly abridged by the furious Bulgarians in their passage, and \* he brought prisoner to Constantinople. Besides these, one Gotescalcus a Priest, a wolf in sheeps clothing, and Emmicho a tyrant-Prince neare the Rhene, led forth a rout of wicked people, who carried the badge of the Crosse, and served the devil under Christs liverie, killing and pillaging the poore Jews and other people in Germanie as they went. This made Coloman King of Hungarie, not onely denie them passage through his cuntry (and no

\* Malmib.  
lib. 4. pag. 133

\* Calvisius,  
pag. 893. in  
Anno 1096.

Amilius,  
De gest. Fran.  
pag. 111.

\* Malmib.  
lib. 4. pag. 133

Wirspergenf.  
pag. 275. &  
228.

wonder if he was loth to lodge those guests who were likely to rob their host ) but also put most of them to the sword. Some suspected these beginnings to be but the bad breakfast to a worse dinner; and therefore abandoning their resolutions, returned home : others little moved hereat, conceived these first defeats to be but the clarifying of the Christian army from the dregs of base and ruder people.

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## Chap. 15.

*The Pilgrimes arrivall at Constantinople, entertainment, and departure.*

\* *urspergenf.*  
pag. 233.

But now (to speak in my \* authours phrase ) the chaff being winnowed with this fanne out of Gods floore, the good grain began to appear. Godfrey Duke of Bouillon set forth, and marched through Hungary with an armie of civill and well-conditioned souldiers ; so also did Boemund, Reimund, and Robert the Normane, whose setting forth bare diverse dares: and they embraced severall courses through sundry countreys; but the first Rendezvous where all met was at Constantinople.

Aug.  
15.

This was no pleasant prospect to Alexius the Grecian Emperour, to see the sea full of ships, the shore of souldiers. He had gotten the Empire by bad practices ( by deposing and cloistering Nicephorus his predeceffour ) and an ill conscience needeth no enemy but it self: for now he affrighteth himself with the fantasie, that these Pilgrimes were so many pioners come to undermine him. Yea, he seemeth to have entailed his jealousies on all his successours; who never cordially affected this warre, but suspected that these Western Christians made but a false blow at Jerusalem, and meant to hit Constantinople. But though he had a storm in his heart, yet he made all fair weather in his face; and finding these his guests so strong that they could command their own welcome, he entertained them rather for fear then love. At last it was \* covenanted betwixt them, that what countreys or cities soever ( Jerusalem alone excepted ) once belonging to this Grecian Empire, should be recovered by these Latines, should all be restored to Alexius ; in lieu whereof he was to furnish them with armour, shipping, and all other warlike necessities. Thus might that Emperour have much improved his estate by these adventurers; but he ( like those who cannot see their own good for too steadfast looking on it ) by his over-carefulness and causelesse suspicion, deprived himself of this benefit, and implunged himself in much just hatred for his un-

\* *M. Paris,*  
pag. 38.

\* *Amilius,*  
*De gest. Fran.*  
pag. 112.

Dec.  
23.

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Dom.  
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just dealing and treachery. Polybius ( though a Grecian himself ) yet thus painteth out his countrymen amongst the Greeks; If one should lend a talent, though he should have for it ten bonds, ten seals, and twice as many witnesses, yet the borrower will not keep his credit. It seems Alexius was one of this same faith, who though so solemnly engaged on his honour to perform this agreement so advantageous to himself, most unprincipally brake his word, and molested these Pilgrimes afterwards.

23  
Lib. 6. *Vide*  
*Erasmus in*  
*Adagio, Grae-*  
*ca Sides.*

\* Some question the discretion of these Princes in this agreement, to bargain to purchase Alexius his profit with their blood, and conceive that they much under-valued themselves in swearing homage unto him ; which onely \* Robert Earl of Flanders (remembering that he was free-born and bred ) refused to do: Yet they may herein be partly excused ; for they apprehended it of absolute necessity to gain this Emperours favour, on what price soever, because his country was the high-way through which they must passe. Besides, their zeal to be at their journeyes end made them insensible of any future disadvantages, so be it they might have but present expedition to the place they were bound for. And we may also think that Alexius his liberall gifts had great efficacy in this matter, to win these Princes to his own desires.

\* *M. Paris,*  
pag. 38.

\* *Malmsh.*  
pag. 137.

## Chap. 16.

*The estate of Asia; siege, and taking of Nice; Turks overthrown in battel.*

At our last mentioning of the Turks and their victories, we left them possesse of Jerusalem, and the greater part of Syria : but since they have thrived better, and won the lesser Asia from the Grecian Emperour. Indeed those Emperours with their own hands lifted up the Turks into their throne, and caused them thus speedily to conquer. For giving themselves over to pleasure, they gave little countenance, and lesse maintenance to men of service and action: whereby the martiall sparks in noble spirits were quenched; and no wonder if vertue did wither where it was not watered with reward. Secondly, out of covetousnesse the Emperours unfurnished their frontiers of garri- sons, and laid them open to invasions ; a notorious solecisme in policie : for if doores in private houses are to be locked, much more frontiers in kingdoms. Neither did it a little advantage the Turks proceedings, that the Grecian Empire fell to

Eudoxia

Eudoxia a woman, and her children in minoritie, too weak pilots to steer so great a State in the tempest of warre. And though after other changes it fell to Alexius, one whose personall abilities were not to be excepted against; yet he being totally busied at home, to maintain his title against home-bred foes, had no leisure to make any effectually resistance against foreign enemies. Nor did the death of Cutlen-Muses their king any whit prejudice the Turkish proceedings: for Solymán his sonne succeeded him, a Prince no lesse famous for his clemencie then his conquests; as victory to generous minds is onely an inducement to moderation. In this case under the tyrannie of the Turks stood Asia the lesse, and though there were many Christians in every citie, yet these being disarmed, had no other weapons then those of the Primitive Church, tears and prayers.

But now these Western Pilgrimes arriving there, besiege the citie of Nice with an armie as glorious as ever the sunne beheld. This citie was equally beholden to nature and art for her strength; and was formerly famous for the first generall Council, called there by Constantine against Arius, wherein were assembled 318 Bishops. The Pilgrimes had a Lombard for their engineer; the neighbouring wood afforded them materials, whereof they made many warlike instruments, and hoped speedily to conquer the citie. But breathed deer are not so quickly caught. The Turks within being experienced souldiers, defeated their enterprises. And here one might have seen art promising her self the victory, and suddenly meeting with counter-art which mastered her. The lake Ascanius whereon the citie stood, having an out-let into the sea, much advantaged the besieged, whereby they fetcht victuals from the countrey, till at last that passage was locked up by the Grecian fleet. Soon after the citie was surrendered, on composition that the inhabitants lives and goods should be untouched; whereat the souldiers who hitherto hoped for the spoyle, now seeing themselves spoyle of their hope, shewed no small discontentment. Solymán's wife and young children were taken prisoners, and the citie (according to the agreement) was delivered to Tatinus the Grecian Admirall in behalf of Alexius his master.

From hence the Christians set forward to the vale of Dogorgan, when behold Solymán with all his might fell upon them, and there followed a cruel battel, fought with much courage and varietie of successe. A cloud of arrows darkened the skie, which was quickly dissolved into a shower of blood. The Christians had many disadvantages: For their enemies were three to one, and valour it self may be pressed to death under the weight of multitude. The season was unseasonable; the scorching of the sunne much annoying these northern people, whilest the

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the Turks had bodies of proof against the heat. Besides, the Christians horses affrighted with the barbarous sounds of the Turkish drummes, were altogether unserviceable. However, they bravely maintained their fight by the speciall valour and wisdom of their leaders (amongst whom Boemund, and Hugh brother to the King of France, deserved high commendations) till at last finding themselves overmatched, they began to guard their heads with their heels, and fairly ran away. When in came \* Robert the Normane in the very opportunity of opportunitee. Much he encouraged them with his words, more with his valour, slaying three principall Turks with his own hands. This sight so inspirited the Christians, that coming in on fresh, they obtained a most glorious victory. Two thousand on their side were slain, whereof William the brother of Tancred, Godfrey de Mont, and Robert of Paris were of speciall note. But farre greater was the slaughter of their enemies, especially after that Godfrey of Bouillon, who had been absent all the battel, came in with his army: yet they wanted a hammer to drive the victory home to the head, having \* no horses to make the pursuit. Solymán flying away burned all as he went; and to prop up his credit, gave it out that he had gotten the day, pleasing himself to be a conquerour in report. This great battel was fought July the first, though some make it many dayes after: Yea, so great is the varietie of Historians in their dates, that every one may seem to have a severall clock of time, which they set faster or slower at their own pleasure: but as long as they agree in the main, we need not be much moved with their petty dissensions.

July  
1.

\* M. Paris,  
pag. 42. &  
H. Hunting.  
lib. 7. pag. 374.

\* W. Malmb.  
pag. 138.

### Chap. 17.

*The siege and taking of Antiochia; Corboran overcome in fight; of Christs spear, and of holy fraud.*

FROM hence with invincible industry and patience, they bored a passage through valleys, up mountains, over rivers, taking as they went the famous cities, Iconium, Heraclea, Tarsus, and conquering all the countrey of Cilicia. This good successe much \* puffed them up; God therefore to cure them of the pleurise of pride, did let them blood with the long and costly siege of Antiochia. This citie watered by the river Orontes, and called Reblath of the Hebrews, was built by Seleucus Nicanor,

E

and

\* W. S. p. 133.

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and enlarged by Antiochus. Compassed it was with a double wall, one of square stone, the other of brick, strengthened with 460 towres, and had a castle on the East rather to be admired then assaulted. Here the professors of our faith were first named \* Christians: and here S. Peter first sat Bishop, whose fair church was a Patriarchall seat for many hundred yeares after. Before this city the Pilgrimes army incamped, and strongly besieged it: but the Turks within manfully defending themselves under Auxianus their captain, frustrated their hopes of taking it by force. The siege grew long, and victuals short in the Christians camp: and now \* Peter the Hermite being brought to the touch-stone, discovered what base metall he was of, ran away with some other of good note, and were fetcht back again, and bound with a new oath to prosecute the warre. At last, one within the citie (though Authours agree neither of his name nor religion, some making him a Turk, others a Christian; some calling him Pyrrhus, some Hemirpherrus, others Emipher) in the dead of the night betrayed the citie to Roemund. The Christians issuing in, and exasperated with the length of the siege, so remembered what they had suffered, that they forgot what they had to do, \* killing promiscuously Christian citizens with Turks. Thus passions, like heauebodies down steep hills, once in motion move themselves, and know no ground but the bottom.

Antiochia thus taken, was offered to Alexius the Emperour; but he refused it, suspecting some deceit in the tender; as bad men measure other mens minds by the crooked rule of their own. Hereupon it was bestowed on Boemund; though this place dearly purchased was not long quietly possessed: For Corboran the Turkish Generall came with a vast armie of Persian forces, and besieged the Christians in the citie, so that they were brought into a great strait betwixt death and death, hunger within and their foes without. Many secretly stole away, whereat the rest were no whit discomfited, counting the losse of cowards to be gain to an armie. At last, they generally resolved rather to lose their lives by whole-sale on the point of the sword, then to retail them out by famine, which is the worst of tyrants, and murdereth men in state, whilst they die in not dying. It did not a little encourage them, that they found in the church of S. Peter that \* lance wherewith our Saviours bodie was pierced: They highly prized this militarie relique of Christ, as if by wounding of him it had got vertue to wound his enemies, and counted it a pawn of certain victorie. Whether this spear was truly found, or whether it was but invented to cozen men with, we will not dispute: However, it wrought much with these Pilgrimes; for conceit oftentimes

doeth

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\* AB 11.26

\* Sabell. Enn.  
9. lib. 5. pag.  
357. Et c.  
milinus in Phi-  
lip the first,  
pag. 123.\* P. Amil.  
pag. 127.\* Tyrin,  
lib. 6. cap. 14.Anno  
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doeth things above conceit, especially when the imagination apprehendeth something founded in religion. Marching forth in severall armies they manfully fell upon their enemies, and being armed with despair to escape, they fought to sell their lives at the dearest rate. Valour doth swell when it is crushed betwixt extremities; and then oftentimes goeth beyond her self in her achievements. This day by Gods blessing on their courage they got a noble conquest. Some saw \* S. George in the aire with an armie of white horses fighting for them; but these no doubt did look through the spectacles of fanfic. And yet though we should reject this apparition, we need not play the Origen with the story of S. George, and change all the literall sense into an allegoric of Christ and his Church: for it is improbable that our English nation, amongst so many Saints that were, would choose one that was not, to be their patrons; especially seeing the world in that age had rather a glut then famine of Saints.

And here let me advertise the Reader once for all, not to expect that I should set down those many \* miracles wherewith Authours who write this warre so lard their stories, that it will choke the belief of any discreet man to swallow them. As the intent of these writers was pious, to gain credit and converts to the Christian faith, so the prosecuting of their project must be condemned, in thinking to grace the Gospel in reporting such absurd falsities. But let us know that heaven hath a pillorie, whereon *Fraus pia* her self shall be punished: and rather let us leave religion to her native plainnesse, then hang her cares with counterfeit pearls.

The pride of the Turks being abated in this battel, and an 100000 of them being slain, the Christians grew mightily insolent, and forgot to return to God the honour of the victorie. Whereupon followed a great mortalitie, and 50000 died in few dayes; whether this proceeded from the climate (the bodies of Europe not being friends with the aire of Asia, til use by degrees reconcileth them) or whether it was caused by their intemperance: for after long fasting they would not measure their stomachs by the standard of physick, and setting themselves till nature by degrees could digest the meat; but by surfeiting digged their graves with their own teeth.

And now we are come to the skirts and borders of Palestine. Wherefore as Heralds use to blazon the field before they meddle with the charge, so let us describe the land before we relate the actions done therein. If in bowling they must needs throw wide, which know not the green or alley whereon they play; much more must they misse the truth in storie, who are unacquainted with that countrey whereon the discourse proceedeth.

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Briefly

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\* M. Perin, in  
Guilielmo secundo, pag.  
57.\* Mundus se-  
nescens pati-  
tur phantasias  
falsorum mi-  
raculorum;  
propterea  
sunt nunc ha-  
benda mira-  
cula valde  
suspecta,  
Gerson.

Briefly therefore of the Holy land; as not intending to make a large and wide description of so short and narrow a country.

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## Chap. 18.

*A Pisgah-sight, or short survey of Palestine in generall; and how it might maintain 1300000 men.*

PALESTINE is bounded on the North with mount Libanus; West, with the mid-land-sea; South, with the wilderness of Paran, parting it from Egypt; and East, with the mountains of Gilead, and the river of Arnon. To give it the most favourable dimensions; From the foot of Libanus to Beerheba, North and South, may be allowed 210 miles: and from Ramoth-Gilead to Endor, East and West, seventie; which is the constant breadth of the country. In which compasse in Davids time were maintained \* thirteen hundred thousand men, besides women, children, and impotent persons: and yet the tribes of \* Benjamin and Levi were not reckoned. True this must needs be, for Truth hath said it: Yet is it wonderfull. For though the united Provinces in the Low-countrys maintain as many people in as little a plot of ground, yet they feed not on home-bred food; but have Poland for their granarie, the British ocean for their fish-pond, High-Germanie for their wine-cellar; and by the benefit of their harbours unlock the store-houses of all other countrys. It fared not thus with the Jews, whose own country fed them all. And yet the seeming impossibilitie of so many kept in so small a land will be abated, if we consider these particulars;

1. People in those hot countrys had not so hot appetites for the quantitie of the meat eaten, nor gluttonous palates for the varietie of it.

2. The country rising and falling into hills and vales, gained many acres of ground: whereof no notice is taken in a map; for therein all things presented are conceived to be *in plano*: And so the land was farre roomthier then the scale of miles doth make it.

3. They had pasturage to feed their cattel in, in out-countrys beyond Palestine. Thus the tribe of \* Reuben grased their cattel east-ward, even to the river Euphrates.

4. Lastly, the soyl was transcendently fruitfull, as appeareth by that great \* bunch of grapes carried by two men: For though many a man hath not been able to bear wine, it is much that one should be loaden with one cluster of grapes.

If

\* 2. Sam. 24. 9.  
1. Chron. 21. 6

\* 1. Chron. 5.  
9, 10.

\* Num. 13. 23.

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If any object against the fruitfulness of this country; That there were many wildernesses therein, as those of Maon, Ziph, Carmel, Gibeon, Judah, and these must needs cut large thongs out of so narrow a hide: it is answered, That these wildernesses took up no great space, as probably being no bigger then our least Forrests in England. As for the greater deserts, we must not conceive them to lie wholly waste, but that they were but thinly inhabited: for we find \* fix cities with their villages in the wilderness of Judah.

\* Josh. 15. 61.

Principall commodities of this country were,

1. Balm, which \* wholly failed not long after our Saviours passion; whether because the type was to cease when the truth was come, or because that land was unworthy to have so sovereignly bodily physick grow in her, where the Physician of the soul was put to death.

\* Annoter,  
in Terra San-  
cta pag. 1017.  
¶ in Egypt.  
pag. 1135.

2. Honey, and that either distilled by bees those little chymists (and the pasture they fed on was never a whit the bareer for their biting) or else rained down from heaven, as that which \* Jonathan tasted, when his sweet meat had like to have had sower sauce, and to have cost him his life.

\* 1. Sam. 14.  
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Besides these, milk, oyl, nuts, almonds, dates, figs, olives: So that we may boldly say, no country had better sauce and better meat, having fowl, fish, in sea, lakes, and rivers; flesh of sheep, goats, bucks, and kine.

Mines of gold and silver with pearls and precious stones, Judea rather had not then wanted; either because God would not have his people proud or covetous; or because these are not essentiall to mans life; or because nature bestoweth these commodities in recompense on barren countrys.

Horses they had none but what they bought out of Egypt for service, using asses for burden, oxen for drawing, and mules for travel. And for many hundred yeares they used no horses in battle, till David took some from \* Hadadezer. The greatest inconvenience of the land was that it had wild beasts, and their sheep were not securely folded like ours in England, which stand more in danger of men then wolves.

\* 2. Sam. 8. 4.

The chief river of the country was Jordan: over which the Israelites passed on foot; afterwards Elijah made a bridge over it with his cloke: and our Saviour washed the water hereof, by being baptized in it. This ariseth from the springs of Jor and Dan; whence running south he enlargeth himself first into the waters of Merom, then into the lake of Genesareth or Tiberias; and hence recovering his stream, as if sensible of his sad fate, and desirous to deferre what he cannot avoid, he fetcheth many turnings and windings, but all will not excuse him from falling into the Dead sea. Authours are very fruitfull on the barrenness

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of this sea ( where Sodome once stood ) writing how on the banks thereof grow those hypocrite apples and well-complexioned dust ( the true emblemes of the false pleasures of this world ) which touched fall to ashes.

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### Chap. 19. Galilee described.

**P**Alesthine contained foure provinces : Galilee on the north, Trachonitis beyond Jordan on the east, Judea on the south, and Samaria in the middle. Galilee was divided into the upper and lower. The upper ( called also Galilee of the Gentiles, because it bordered on them ) comprehended the tribes of Asher and Nephthali.

\* *Josh. 11. 8.*

Asher entertaineth us with these observables: 1. \* Misrephoth-majim, the Nantwich of Palesthine, where salt was boyled. 2. Sarepta, where Elijah multiplied the widows oyl. 3. Tyre, anciently the Royall-Exchange of the world; but of this (as of Sidon and Ptolemais) largely hereafter. 4. Aphek, whose walls falling down gave both the death and grave-stones to 27000 of Benhadads souldiers. 5. Cana the great, whereof was that woman whose daughter Christ dispossessed of a devil. 6. Belus, a rivulet famous for his glassie sand. 7. Mount Libanus, whether so called ( as our Albion ) from his snowy top, or from frankincense growing thereon.

Nephthali, with these: 1. Abel-beth-maacha: In this borough Sheba that vermine earthed himself, till a womans wifedome threw his head over the wals: And pitie it was those wals should have stood, if they had been too high to throw a traytours head over them. 2. Harosheth, the citie of Sifera, who for all his commanding of 900 iron-chariots, was slain with one iron-nail. 3. Capernaum, where Christ healed the Centurions servant; and not farre off fed an army of guests with five loaves and two fishes: so that if we consider what they ate, we may wonder that they left any thing; if what they left, that they ate any thing. 4. Kedesh, a citie of refuge, whither they were to flee that killed men unawares. As for those who formerly privileged Sanctuaries in England, where the worst traytours and wilfullest murderers were secure from punishment, they rather propounded Romulus then Moses for their president. 5. Riblah, where King Zedekiah (more unhappy that he saw so long then that he was blind so soon) had his eyes put out, after he had beheld the slaughter of his sonnes. 6. Cesarea-Philippi, the chief citie of Decapolis; which was a small territorie on both

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sides of Jordan, so called of ten cities it contained; though Authours wonderfully differ in reckoning them up. 7. Christs mount, so named because it was his pulpit, as the whole Law was his text, when he made that famous sermon in the mount. This Sunne of righteousness, which had all Palesthine for his zodiack, the twelve tribes for his signes, stayed longest here and in Zabulon; and as S. Hierome \* observeth, as these two tribes were first carried into captivity, so redemption was first preached in these countreys.

\* *In 4. Matth.*

Lower Galilee consisted of Zabulon and Issachar. Zabulon presenteth us with Naim, where our Saviour raised the widows sonne, so that she was twice a mother, yet had but one child. 2. Cana the lesse, where he shewed the virginity of his miracles at a marriage, turning water into wine. 3. Bethulia, where Judeth strook off Holofernes his head; though some since have strook off that story, not onely from canonicall scripture, but from truth. 4. Bethsaida, upbraided by Christ, famous for her great means, great ingratitude, great punishment. 5. Nazareth, where our Saviour had his conception and education. 6. Tiberias, so called by Herod the Tetrarch in the honour of Tiberius. 7. Mount Carmel, the Jewish Parnassus, where the Prophets were so conversant. 8. Tabor, where our Saviour was transfigured, the earnest of his future glory. 9. The river Kishon, Gods become to sweep away Sifera's great armie.

In Issachar we find Tarichea, taken with great difficultie by Vespasian. 2. Shunem, where Elisha was so often entertained by an honourable woman. And as if this land had been thirsty of blood, here in this tribe were fought the battels of Gideon against the Midianites, Jehu against Jehoram, Saul against the Philistines upon mount Gilboa. David therefore cursed that mountain that neither dew nor rain should fall on it. But of late some English travellers climbing this mountain were well wetted, David not curling it by a propheticall spirit, but in a poeticall rapture.

### Chap. 20. The description of Samaria.

**S**Amaria contained half Manasses on this side Jordan, and the Stribe of Ephraim. In the former we meet with Bethshean, on the walls whereof the Philistines hanged Sauls body. 2. Tirzah, where Zimri (whose onely goodness was, that he reigned but seven dayes) burned himself and the Kings palace. 3. Thebez,

3. Thebez, where Abimelech, prodigall of his life, but negligardly of his reputation, not so pained with his death, as angry with his killer (because a woman) would needs be killed again by his armour-bearer. 4. Megiddo, where Josiah that bright sunne set in a cloud, engaging himself in a needlesse quarrel, wherein he was slain. 5. Cefarea-Stratonis, where Herod was eaten up with worms. 6. Jezreel, a royall citie of the Kings of Israel, nigh which lay the vineyard or rather bloud-yard of Naboth.

Ephraim was adorned with Samaria the chief citie of Israel, which at this day sheweth more ruines then Jerufalem. 2. Shiloh, where the Ark was long leiger; and where Eli heart-broken with bad news, brake his neck with a fall. 3. Sichein, where Dinah bought the satisfying of her curiositie with the losse of her chastitie. And as if the ground here were stained with perfidiousnesse, here Simeon and Levi killed the Sichemites, Joseph was sold by his brethren, Abimelech usurped the government, the ten tribes revolted from Rehoboam. 4. Mount Ephraim, a ridge of hills crossing this countrey. 5. Gerizzim and Ebal, two mountains: the blessings were pronounced on the one, and the curses on the other.

## Chap. 21.

## Judea surveyed.

Judea comprised the tribes of Benjamin, Dan, Simeon, and Judah. Benjamin flourished with Gilgal, where Joshua circumcised the Israelites. They hitherto had been fellow-commoners with the Angels, feeding on manna, which here ceased; God withdrawing miracles where he afforded means. 2. Gibeon, whose inhabitants cozened Joshua with a passe of falsedated antiquitie: Who would have thought that clouted shoes could have covered so much subtilty? Here Joshua sent his mandate to the sunne to stand still, and to wait on him whilest he conquered his enemies. 3. Nob, where Doeg, more cruel then the Kings cattel he kept, slew eighty five Priests as innocent as their ephods were white. 4. Jericho, whose walls were battered down with the sound of rammes horns. 5. Bethel, where God appeared to Jacob. 6. Ai, where the Israelites were slain for the sacriledge of Achan.

Dan had these memorables. 1. Joppa a safe harbour, where Jonah fled from Gods service. 2. Ashdod or Azotus, where Dagon did twice homage to the Ark, not onely falling bare, but

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ting off his head and hands. 3. Gath, a seminary of giants, where Goliath was born. 4. Ekron, where Beelzebub the God of flies had a nest or temple. 5. Timnath, where Judah committed incest with Tamar, but betrayed himself by his own tokens, and beat himself with his own staff. Hence Samson fetcht his wife, whose *epithalamium* proved the dirge to so many Philistines. 6. Modin, where the Maccabees were buried. 7. Sorek, the chief if not onely rivulet of this tribe.

Enteing on the fourth-coasts of Simeon, we light on Askelon, where Herod was born. 2. Gaza, chief of the five Sarrapies of the Philistines, the gates whereof Samson carried away, and hither being sent for to make sport in the house of Dagon, acted such a tragedie that plucked down the stage, slew himself and all the spectators. 3. More inland; Ziklag, assigned by Achish to David. 4. Beertheba and Gerar, where Abraham and Isaac lived most constantly, neare unto the brook of Besor.

The tribe of Judah was the greatest of all, so that Simeon and Dan did feed on the reversion thereof, and received those cities which originally belonged to this royall tribe. Memorable herein were 1. Hebron, the land whereof was given to Caleb, because he and Joshua consented not to the false verdict which the jurie of spies brought in against the land of Canaan. 2. Nigh, in the cave of Machpelah, the Patriarchs were buried; whose bodies took livery and seafin in behalf of their posteritie, which were to possesse the whole land. 3. Kirjath-sepher or Debir, an ancient Universitie of the Canaanites: for though Parnassus was onely in Greece, yet the Muses were not confined to that countrey. 4. Tekoa, where Amos was born, fetcht from the herdsmen, to feed Gods sheepe; and to dresse his vine, from gathering wild-figs. 5. Zoar, Lots refuge; neare to which his wife for one farewell-glance at Sodome, was turned into a pillar of salt, to season us to measure a sinne by the infinitenesse of God who forbiddeth it. Adjoyning is Lots cave; where he affecting solitarinesse, had too much company of his own daughters. 6. Carmel, where Nabal lived as rich as foolish; but those grains of wisdom which were wanting in him, were found over-weight in his wife. Here Uziah pastured his cattel, a King, yet delighted in husbandry; as thrift is the fewel of magnificence. 7. Bethlehem, where our Saviour was born. 8. Jerufalem, whereof afterwards.

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Chap.



Chap. 22.  
Of Trachonitis.

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WE want one adequate word of a countrey to expresse the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasses beyond Jordan. Trachonitis cometh the nearest, so called because it riseth up in sharp hills, which are known to Ptolemie by the name of Hippus; to Strabo, of Trachones; but in Scripture, of mount Hermon, or Gilead.

Reuben, though disinherited of the birth-right, had this honour of an elder brother, that he was first provided for. His chief places, Heshbon, and Medeba, and Macherus, the strongest in-land citie in that part of the world. Mount Abarim, a chain of hills, the highest whereof was Nebo; the top-cliff of Nebo, Pisgah; whence Moses viewed the land: hereabouts the Angel buried him, and also buried his grave, lest it should occasion idolatry. The river Arnon parteth this tribe from Moab.

In Gad, we find Peniel where Jacob wrestled with God; lost a sinew, but got a blessing: Jabesh-gilead, where Saul was buried: Ramoth-gilead, where Ahab was slain: Rogelim, the mannour of Barzillai, superannuated to be a courtier: Mahanaim, where the Angels appeared to Jacob: The Forrest of Ephraim, where that execution was done by Jephthah on the Ephraimites, for not pronouncing that heave aspiration in Shibboleth: The river Jabbok.

In Manasses, Edrei the citie of Og, on whose giant-like proportion the Rabbines have more giant-like lies: Gadara, whose inhabitants loved their swine better then their Saviour. They that desire to be further informed of Canaan, let them spare pains to strike fire, and light their candle at Sir Walter Raleghs torch.

Chap. 23.

The description of the citie of Jerusalem; the observables within, and about her.

Jerusalem by the often change of her fortunes, hath somewhat altered her situation, having hitched her self more north-west-ward. For the mountain of Calvarie, which formerly she shut out of her gates, as the infamous place of execution, she

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now embraceth within her walls as her most venerable monument.

On the south of Jerusalem (once part of her, now excluded) lieth mount Sion, famous anciently for the palace of David: On the east, mount Olivet, parted with the vale of Jehoshaphat; which (some will have) shall be the hall for the great Assizes of the world at the day of judgement, whilest others more modestly conceive that the place as well as the time is concealed. On the west, the hill of Gihon: And on the north it is indifferent plain.

The monuments which are still extant to be seen without or within the citie, are reduceable to one of these three ranks. 1. Certainly true; as the mountains compassing it, which are standards too great and too heave for either time or warre to remove: and such also are some eminent particulars of some places, which constant tradition without rupture hath entailed on posteritie. 2. Of a mixt nature; where the text is true, but superstition and fanisie have commented on it. 3. Stark lies, without a rag of probabilitie to hide their shame; where the beleever is as foolish as the inventor impudent. We will bundle them together, and let the Reader sort them at his discretion: for it is as hard to fit the throats as to please the palates of men; and that will choke one mans belief which another will swallow as easily credible. Neither let any censure this discourse as a parenthesis to this history, seeing that to see these reliques was one principall motive with many to undertake this pilgrimage.

To begin without the citie; On the south there remain the ruines of Davids palace, too neare to which was Uriahs house; and the fountain is still shewed where Bathshebas washing of her bodie occasioned the fouling of her soul. Next, Davids tombe is to be seen wherein he was buried: his monument was enriched with a masse of treasure, saith Josephus: out of which Hircanus 850 yeares after took three thousand talents. But surely David who despised riches in his life, was not covetous after his death: And I am sure they are his own words, that *Man shall carry nothing away with him, neither shall his great pomp follow him.* Thirdly, Aceldama that burying-place for strangers: and the grave that every where hath a good stomach, hath here a *boanitia* or greedy worm; for it will devour the flesh of a corpse in 48 houres. Fourthly, Absaloms pillar, which he built to continue his memorie, though he might have saved that cost, having eternized his infamy by his unnaturall rebellion. Fifthly, the houses of Annas and Caiaphas, to passe by others of inferiour note.

On the east, First, mount Olivet, from whence our Saviour

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took

\* Morisons  
Trav. part.  
1. pag. 126.

\* Psal. 49. 17.



took his rise into heaven. The chapell of Ascension, of an eight-square round mounted on three degrees, still challengeth great reverence; and there the footsteps of our Saviour are still to be seen, which cannot be covered over. Secondly, the fig-tree which Christ cursed: for he who spake many, here wrought a parable; this whole tree being but the bark, and Christ under it cursing the fruitlesse profession of the Jews. Thirdly, the place where S. Stephen was stoned; and the stones thereabouts are over-grown with a red rust, which is (forsooth) the very blood of that holy martyr. Fourthly, the place where Judas surpris'd our Saviour, and he fell down on a stone, in which the print of his elbows and feet are still to be seen. Fifthly, the sepulchre of the blessed Virgin: whose body after it had been three dayes buried, was carried up by the Angels into heaven; and sheweth fall her \* girdle to S. Thomas, that his weak faith might be swaddled therewith: otherwise he who in the point of Christs resurrection would have no creed, except he made his own articles, and put his finger into his side, would no doubt hardly have believed the Virgins assumption. With this legend we may couple another, which though distant in place will be beleev'd both together: They shew at \* Bethlehem a little hole over the place where our Saviour was born, through which the starre which conducted the wise-men fell down to the ground. But who will not conclude but there was a *vertigo* in his head, who first made a starre subject to the falling-sickness? Sixthly, the vale of Hinnom or Tophet, in which wife Solomon befooled by his wives, built a temple to Moloch. Seventhly, Cedron, a brook so often mentioned in Scripture.

The west and north-sides of Jerusalem were not so happily planted with sacred monuments; and we find none thereon which grew to any eminencie.

We will now lead the Reader into Jerusalem: Where first on mount Moriah (the place where Isaac was offered, though not sacrificed) stood Solomons temple, destroyed by the Chaldeans, rebuilt by Zorobabel: Afterward Herod reedified it so stately (saith Josephus) that it exceeded Solomons temple; if his words exceed not the truth. But no wonder if he that never saw the sunne, dare say that the moon is the most glorious light in the heavens. Secondly, Solomons palace, which was \* thirteen yeares in building, whereas the temple was finished in \* seven: Not that he bestowed more cost and pains (because more time) on his own then on Gods house: but rather he \* plied Gods work more thoroughly, and entertained then more builders; so that contrary to the proverb, Church-work went on the most speedily. Thirdly, the house of the forrest of Lebanon, which was (as appeareth by comparing the text) fourtie cubits

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\* Sanders,  
pag. 190.

\* Bidulphs  
Trav. pag. 130  
& Morisons,  
part. 1. pag.  
227.

\* 1. King. 7. 1.

\* 1. King. 6.

\* Vide Tre-  
mel. in locum.

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longer, and thirtie cubits broader then the temple it self. But no doubt the holy Spirit speaking of holy buildings, meaneth the great cubit of the Sanctuary; but in other houses, the ordinary or common cubit. It was called the house Lebanon, because hard by it Solomon planted a \* grove, the abridgement of the great forrest; so that the pleasures of spacious Lebanon were here written in a lesse character. Fourthly, Pilates palace, and the Common hall, where the Judge of the world was condemn'd to death. Fifthly, the pool of Bethesda, the waters whereof troubled by the Angel were a *Panpharmacum* to him that first got into them. Here was a spittle built with five porches, the mercy of God being seconded by the charitie of man, God gave the cure, men built the harbour for impotent persons. Sixthly, the house of Dives the rich glutton: and therefore (saith \* Adricomius) it was no parable: But may we not retort his words? It was a parable; and therefore this is none of Dives his house. Sure I am, Theophylact is against the literal sense thereof, and saith, They think \* foolishly that think otherwise.

But my discourse hasteth to mount Calvarie; which at this day hath almost ingross'd all reverence to it self. It is called Calvarie, Golgotha, or the place of a scull, either because the hill is rolled and \* rounded up in the fashion of a mans head, (as \* Pen in the British tongue signifieth both an head, and a copped hill) or because here the bodies of such as were executed were cast. As for that conceit, that Adams scull should here be found, it is confuted by S. Hierome, who will have him buried at Hebron. Neither is it likely, if the Jews had a tradition that the father of mankind had here been interred, that they would have made his sepulchre their Tiburn where malefactours were put to death, and the charnel-house where their bones were scattered. Over our Saviours grave stood a stately church, built say some by Helen, say others by Constantine: but we will not set mother and sonne at variance, it might be she built it at his cost. In this church are many monuments: As the pillar whereunto Christ was bound when scourged; wherein red spots of dusky-veined marble \* usurped the honour to be counted Christs blood. Secondly, a great cleft in the rock which was rent in sunder at the Passion, whereby the bad thief was divided from Christ (the signe of his spirituall separation) and they say it reacheth to the centre of the earth: a thing hard to confute. Thirdly, certain pillars which being in a dark place under ground, are said miraculously to weep for our Saviours suffering. But I referre those who desire the criticisines of these places without going thither, to read our English travellers: for in this case as good wares and farre cheaper penny-worths are bought at the second hand.

\* Adricom.  
ex Hieron.  
pag. 153.

\* Theatr.  
Terr. sanct.  
153.

\* Hieronius,  
Comment. in  
16. Luc.

\* Illyricus, in  
27. Matth.  
\* Camdenus  
Brit. in Buc-  
kinghamshire.

\* Bridenb.  
De Domib.  
sepulchre.

To conclude our description of Palestine, let none conceive that God forgot the Levites in division of the land, because they had no entire country allotted unto them. Their portion was as large as any, though paid in severall summes: They had 48 cities with their suburbs, tithes, first-fruits, free-offerings; being better provided for then many English ministers, who may preach of hospitalitie to their people, but cannot go to the cost to practice their own doctrine.

Anno  
Dom.  
1098  
Dec.  
11.  
1099

*A table shewing the varietie of places names in Palestine.*

<i>In the old Testament.</i>	<i>At Christs time.</i>	<i>In S. Hieromes time.</i>	<i>At this day.</i>
1 Azzah.	Gaza.	Constantia.	Gazra. <sup>a</sup>
2 Japho.	Joppa.		Jaffa. <sup>b</sup>
3 Ramah.	Arimathea.		Ramma. <sup>c</sup>
4 Shechem.	Sychar.	Neapolis.	Pelosa. <sup>d</sup>
5	Lydda.	Diolpolis.	
6 Capharsalama	Antipatris.		Affur. <sup>e</sup>
7 Zarephath.	Sarepta.		Saphet. <sup>f</sup>
8	Emmaus.	Nicopolis.	
9 Bethsan.		Scythopolis.	
10 Tzor.	Tyrus.	Sur.	<sup>g</sup>
11 } Laish.			
12 } Dan.	Cesarea-Philippi	Paneas.	Belina. <sup>h</sup>
13 } Leshem.			
14 Jerusalem.	Hierosolyma.	Ælia.	Cuds. <sup>i</sup>
15 Samaria.	Samaria.	Sebaste.	
16 Cinnereth. <sup>k</sup>	Tiberias.		Saffer. <sup>l</sup>
17 Accho.	Ptolemais.		Acre. <sup>m</sup>
18 Gath.		Dio-Cesarea	Ybilin. <sup>n</sup>
19 Dammefek.	Damascus.		Sham. <sup>o</sup>
20 Arnon.		Areopolis.	Petra. <sup>p</sup>
21 Rabbah.	Philadelphia.		
22 Waters of Merom.	Semochonite lake.		Houle. <sup>q</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sandys, pag. 149.  
<sup>b</sup> Adricom. pag. 23.  
<sup>c</sup> Morison, pag. 116.  
<sup>d</sup> Ralegh, pag. 311.  
<sup>e</sup> Adricom. pag. 70.  
<sup>f</sup> Ralegh, pag. 183.  
<sup>g</sup> Sandys, pag. 216.  
<sup>h</sup> Ralegh, pag. 291.  
<sup>i</sup> Sandys, pag. 155.  
<sup>k</sup> Adricom. pag. 143.  
<sup>l</sup> Sandys, pag. 112.  
<sup>m</sup> Adricom. pag. 72.  
<sup>n</sup> Bidulph, pag. 94.  
<sup>o</sup> Adricom. pag. 72.  
<sup>p</sup> Sandys, pag. 112.

## Chap. 24.

*The siege and taking of Jerusalem.*

BY this time cold weather ( the best besome to sweep the chambers of theaire ) had well cleared the Christians camp from

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from infection: and now their devotion moved the swifter, being come neare to the centre thereof, the citie of Jerusalem. Forward they set, and take the citie of Marraha, and imploy themselves in securing the country about them, that so they might clear the way as they went. Neither did the discords betwixt Reimund and Boemund much delay their proceedings, being in some measure seasonably compounded; as was also the seabbattel betwixt the Pisans and Venetians. For the Venetians seeing on the Pisans the \* cognifance of the Crosse, the uncoun-terfeited pasport that they wear for the Holy warre, suffered them safely to go on, though otherwise they were their deadly enemies; yea, and set five thousand of them at libertie, whom they had taken captive.

April  
10.  
May  
29

The Pilgrimes kept their Easter at Tripoli, Whitsuntide by Cesarea-Stratonis, taking many places in their passage; and at last came to Jerusalem. Discovering the citie as farre off, it was a prettie sight to behold the harmonie in the difference of expressing their joy; how they clothed the same passion with diverse gestures: some prostrate, some kneeling, some weeping, all had much ado to manage so great a gladnesse. Then began they the siege of the citie on the north ( being scarce assailable on any other side by reason of steep and broken rocks ) and continued it with great valour. On the fourth day after, they had taken it but for want of scaling-ladders. But a farre greater want was the defect of water, the springs being either stopped up or poysoned by the Turks; so that they fetcht water \* five miles off. As for the brook Cedron, it was dried up, as having no subsistence of it self, but merely depending on the benevolence of winter-waters, which mount Oliver bestoweth upon it. Admirall Coligni was wont to say, He that will well paint the beast *Warre*, must first begin to shape the belly; meaning that a good Generall must first provide victuals for an armie: Yea, let him remember the bladder in the beasts belly as well as the guts, and take order for moisture more especially then for meat it self; thirst in northern bodies being more unsupportable then famine: Quickly will their courage be cooled, who have no moisture to cool their hearts. As for the Christians want of ladders, that was quickly supplied: for the Genoans arriving with a fleet in Palestine, brought most curious engineers, who framed a wooden towre, and all other artificiall instruments. For we must not think, that the world was at a losse for warre-tools before the brood of guns was hatched: It had the \* battering ramme, first found out by Epeus at the taking of Troy; the *balista* to discharge great stones, invented by the Phenicians; the *catapultæ*, being a sling of mighty strength, whereof the Syrians were authours: and perchance

June  
6.  
June  
10.

\* Sabellicus, Enn. 9. lib. 3. pag. 357.

\* Amilius, pag. 135.

\* Plin. Nat. hist. lib. 7. cap. 56.

40  
\* 2. Chron. 26.  
15.

perchance King \* Uziah first made it; for we find him very dextrous and happy in devising such things. And although these bear-whelps were but rude and unshaped at the first, yet art did lick them afterwards, and they got more teeth and sharper nails by degrees; so that every age set them forth in a new edition, corrected and amended. But these and many more voluminous engines (for the ramme alone had an hundred men to manage it) are now virtually epitomized in the cannon. And though some may say, that the finding of gunnes hath been the losing of many mens lives, yet it will appear that battels now are fought with more expedition, and victory standeth not so long a neuter, before she expresse her self on one side or other.

But these gunnes have shot my discourse from the siege of Jerusalem: To return thither again. By this time, in the space of a \* moneth, the Genoans had finished their engines which they built \* seven miles off: for nearer there grew no stick of bignesse. I will not say, that since our Saviour was hanged on a tree, the land about that city hath been cursed with a barrennes of wood. And now for a preparative, that their courage might work the better, they began with a fast, and a solemn proceession about mount Olivet.

Next day they gave a fierce assault; yea, \* women played the men, and fought most valiantly in armour. But they within being fourtie thousand strong, well victualled and appointed, made stout resistance, till the night (accounted but a foe for her friendship) umpired betwixt them, and abruptly put an end to their fight in the midst of their courage.

When the first light brought news of a morning, they on a fresh; the rather, because they had \* intercepted a letter tied to the legs of a dove (it being the fashion of that countrey both to write and send their letters with the wings of a \* fowl) wherein the Persian Emperour promised present succours to the besieged. The Turks cased the outside of their walls with bags of chaff, straw, and such like pliable matter, which conquered the engines of the Christians by yeelding unto them. As for one sturdie engine whose force would not be tamed, they brought \* two old witches on the walls to enchant it: but the spirit thereof was too strong for their spells, so that both of them were miserably slain in the place.

The day following, Duke \* Godfrey fired much combustible matter, the smoke whereof (the light cause of an heave effect) driven with the wind, blinded the Turks eyes; and under the protection thereof the Christians entred the citie: Godfrey himself first footing the walls, and then his brother Eustace. The Turks retired to Solomons temple (so called because

Anno  
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July  
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because built in the same place) there to take the farewell of their lives. In a desperate conflict there, the foremost of the Christians were miserably slain, thrust upon the weapons of their enemies by their fellows that followed them. The pavement so swam, that none could go but either through a rivulet of blood, or over a bridge of dead bodies. Valour was not wanting in the Turks, but superlatively abundant in the Christians, till night made them leave off. Next morning mercie was proclaimed to all those that would lay down their weapons: For though blood be the best sauce for victorie, yet must it not be more then the meat. Thus was Jerusalem wonne by the Christians, and \* twentie thousand Turks therein slain, on the fifteenth of July being Friday, about three of the clock in the afternoon. \* Tyrius findeth a great mysterie in the time; because Adam was created on a Friday, and on the same day and houre our Saviour suffered. But these Synchronismes, as when they are naturall they are pretty and pleasing; so when violently wrested, nothing more poore and ridiculous.

Then many Christians, who all this while had lived in Jerusalem in most lamentable slavery, being glad to lurk in secret (as truth oftentimes seeketh corners as fearing her judge, though never as suspecting her cause) came forth joyfully, welcomed and embraced these the procurers of their liberty.

Three dayes after it was concluded, as a necessarie piece of \* severitie for their defense, to put all the Turks in Jerusalem to death; which was accordingly performed without favour to age or sex. The pretense was for fear of treason in them, if the Emperour of Persia should besiege the citie. And some slew them with the same zeal wherewith Saul slew the Gibeonites; and thought it unfit that these goats should live in the sheeps pasture. But noble Tancred was highly displeased hereat, because done in cold blood, it being no slip of an extemporary passion, but a studied and premeditated act; and that against pardon proclaimed, many of them having compounded and paid for their lives and libertie. Besides, the execution was mercilesse, upon sucking children, whose not-speaking spake for them; and on women, whose weaknesse is a shield to defend them against a valiant man. To conclude; Severitie hot in the fourth degree, is little better then poyson, and becometh crueltie it self: and this act seemeth to be of the same nature.

41

\* M. Paris,  
pag. 65.

\* Lib. 8. cap.  
18.

\* Belsoides,  
Deregius  
Hierosol. ex  
varia auto-  
ribus, pag. 119

The end of the first Book.

G

\* M. Paris,  
pag. 63.  
\* P. Amylius,  
pag. 135.  
\* Tyrius,  
lib. 8. cap. 6.

\* Tyrius,  
lib. 8. cap. 13.

\* P. Amylius,  
pag. 136.

\* The manner  
set down at  
large, Br-  
dulphs Trav.  
pag. 43.

\* Tyrius,  
lib. 8. cap. 15.

\* Idem, lib. 8.  
cap. 18.

# The Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

## Book II.

### Chap. 1.

*Robert the Normane refuseth the kingdome of  
Ierusalem; Godfrey of Bouillon chosen king;  
his parentage, education, and vertues.*

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July  
23.\*



Eight dayes after Ierusalem was wonne, they proceeded to the election of a King: but they had so much choice that they had no choice at all; so many Princes there were, and so equally eminent, that Justice her self must suspend her verdict, not knowing which of them best deserved the Crown. Yet it was their pleasure to pitch on Robert the Normane as on the man of highest descent, being sonne to a King: for great Hugh of France was already returned home, pretending the colick; though some impute it to cowardlinesse, and make the disease not in his bowels but his heart.

Robert refused this honourable proffer; whether because he had an eye to the kingdome of England now void by the death of William Rufus, or because he accounted Ierusalem would be incumbred with continuall warre. But he who would not take the Crown with the Crosse, was faine to take the Crosse without the Crown, and never thrived afterwards in any thing he undertook. Thus they who refuse what God fairly carveth for them, do never after cut well for themselves. He lived to see much misery, and felt more, having his eyes put out by king Henry his brother; and at last found rest (when buried) in the now Cathedrall church of Glocester under a \* wooden monument, bearing better proportion to his low fortunes then

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P. Amylus,  
pag. 137.

Henry Hun-  
ting. lib. 7.  
pag. 377.

\* Camden  
Brit. p. 255.

high birth. And since, in the same quire he hath got the company of another Prince as unfortunate as himself, King Edward the second.

They go on to a second choice; and that they may know the nature of the Princes the better, their servants were examined on oath to confesse their masters faults. The \* servants of Godfrey of Bouillon protested their masters onely fault was this, That when Mattens were done he would stay so long in the church to know of the Priest the meaning of every image and picture, that dinner at home was spoiled by his long tarrying. All admired hereat, that this mans worst vice should be so great a vertue, and unanimously chose him their King. He accepted the place, but refused the solemnity thereof; and would not wear a crown of gold there, where the Saviour of mankind had worn a crown of thorns.

He was sonne to Eustace Duke of Bouillon, and Ida his wife, daughter and heir to Godfrey Duke of Lorein; born, saith \* Tyrius, at Bologne a town in Champagne on the English sea, which he mistaketh for Bouillon up higher in the continent neare the county of Lutzenburg. Such slips are incident to the penes of the best authours: yea, we may see Canterbury mistaken for Cambridge, not onely in \* Munster, but even in all our own printed Statute-books in the 12. of Richard the \* second. He was brought up in that school of valour, the court of Henry the 4. the Emperour. Whilst he lived there, there happened an intricate suit betwixt him and another Prince about title of land; and because Judges could not untie the knot, it was concluded the two Princes should cut it asunder with their sword in a combat. Godfrey was very \* unwilling to fight, not that he was the worse souldier, but the better Christian: he made the demurre not in his courage, but in his conscience; as conceiving any private title for land not ground enough for a duell: Yea, we may observe generally, that they who long most to fight duells, are the first that surfeit of them. Notwithstanding, he yielded to the tyranny of custome, and after the fashion of the country entred the lists: when at the first encounter his sword brake; but he struck his adversary down with the hilt, yet so that he saved his life, and gained his own inheritance. Another parallel act of his valour was when being standard-bearer to the Emperour, he with the imperiall ensigne killed Rodolphus the Duke of Saxony in single fight, and fed the Eagle on the bowels of that arch-rebell. His soul was enriched with many vertues, but the most orient of all was his humility, which took all mens affections without resistance: And though one saith, Take away ambition, and you take away the spurres of a souldier; yet, Godfrey without those spurres rode on most triumphantly.

Chap.

\* Tyrius, lib. 9. cap. 2.

\* Lib. 9. cap. 5.

\* Lib. 2. Conf. mag. pag. 50.  
\* As Caius provecb it plainly out of walsingham.

\* Quantum potuit renitebatur, Tyrius, lib. 9. cap. 7.

Anno Dom. 1157.

Anno Dom. 1157.

Chap. 2.

*The establishing of Ecclesiasticall affairs, and Patriarchs in Antioch and Jerusalem; the numerosity of Palestine-Bishops.*

But now let us leave the Helmets, and look on the Mitres, and consider the ordering of Ecclesiasticall affairs. For the Common-wealth is a Ring, the Church the Diamond; both well set together, receive, and return lustre each on other. As soon as Antioch was taken, one Bernard (a reverend Prelate) was made Patriarch there with general consent. But more stirre was there about that place in Jerusalem: For first Arnulphus, a worthless and vicious man, was by \* popular faction lifted up into the Patriarchs chair; but with much ado was avoided, and Dabert, Archbishop of Pifa, substituted in his room: one very wife and politick, an excellent book-man in reading of men, and otherwise well studied, especially as that age went, wherein a mediocrity was an eminency in learning. But he was infected with the humour of the clergy of that age, who counted themselves to want room except they jostled with Princes. As for Arnulphus, he never ceased to trouble and molest this Dabert; and as a firebrand smoketh most when out of the chimney, so he after his displacing was most turbulent and unquiet, ever sitting on his skirts that sat in the Patriarchs chair, till after many changes he struggled himself again into the place.

Under these Patriarchs many Archbishops and Bishops were appointed in the very places (as neare as might be) where they were before the Saracens overrunning the countrey, and good maintenance assigned to most of them.

But at this time Bishops were set too thick for all to grow great; and Palestine fed too many Cathedrall churches to have them generally fat. \* Lydda, Jamnia, and Joppa, three episcopall towns, were within foure miles one of another. Yea, \* Tyrius makes 14 Bishops under the Archbishop of Tyre, 20 under the Archbishop of Cæsarea, under the Archbishop of Scythopolis 9, 12 under the Archbishop of Rabbah, besides 25 suffragan churches, which it seems were immediately depending on the Patriarch of Jerusalem, without subordination to any Archbishop. Surely, many of these Bishops (to use Bishop \* Langhams expression) had high racks but poore mangers. Neither let it stagger the reader if in that catalogue of Tyrius he light on many Bishops seats which are not to be found in Mercator, Ortelius, or any other Geographer; for some of them

\* Famoso populo suffragia inconsulta ministrante, Tyrius, lib. 9. cap. 4.

\* Vide tabulas Adriem. \* Lib. 14. cap. 12.

\* In the Archbishopric of Cami. p. 143.

were such poore places, that they were ashamed to appear in a map, and fall so much under a Geographers notice, that they fall not under it. For in that age Bishops had their Sees at poore and contemptible villages; (as here in England before the Conquest, who would suspect Sunning in Barkshire, or Dorchester neare Oxford to have had Cathedrall churches:) till in the daies of \* William the first, Bishops removed their seats to the principall towns in the shire.

\* Fox Martynolog. p. 173.

Chap. 3.

*The Saracens conquered at Askelon.*

Mahomets tombe hung not so strong but now it began to shake, and was likely to fall. These victories of the Christians gave a deadly wound to that religion. Wherefore the Saracens combined themselves with the Turks to assist them, there being betwixt these two nations, I will not say an unity, but a conspiracy in the same superstition; so that therein they were like a nest of hornets, stirre one and anger all. Wherefore coming out of Egypt under Ammiravissus their Generall, at Askelon they gave the Christians battel. But God sent such a qualm of cowardlinesse over the hearts of these Infidels, that an hundred thousand of them were quickly slain; so that it was rather an execution then a fight; and their rich tents which seemed to be the \* exchequer of the East-countrey, spoiled; so that the Pilgrimes knew not how to value the wealth they found in them.

This victory obtained, such Pilgrimes as were disposed to return, addressed themselves for their country; and these merchants for honour went home, having made a gainfull adventure. Those that remained were advanced to Signories in the land; as Tancred was made governour of Galilee. Nor will it be amisse to insert this story: Peter Bishop of Anagnia in Italy was purposed here to lead his life without taking care for his charge; when behold S. Magnus \* patrone of that church appeared to him in a vision, pretending himself to be a young man who had left his wife at home, and was come to live in Jerusalem. He said Peter to him, go home again to your wife: *Whom God hath joyned together let no man put asunder.* Why then, replied S. Magnus, have you left your church a widow in Italy, and live here so farre from her company? This vision, though calculated for this one Bishop, did generally serve for all the non-residents which posted hither, and who payed not

\* Tyrtius, lib. 9. cap. 12.

\* Baronius out of Tyrtius in anno 1099

Anno Dom. ~~~~~

Aug. 12.

Anno Dom. ~~~~~

the lawfull debt to their conscience, whilst by needlesse bonds they engaged themselves to their own will-worship. For though souls of men be light, because immateriall, yet they may prove an heavy burden to these carelesse Pastours who were to answer for them.

After the return of these Pilgrimes, the heat of the Christians victories in Syria were somewhat allayed: for \* Boemund Prince of Antioch marching into Mesopotamia, was taken prisoner; and Godfrey besieging the city of Antipatris, then called Asfur, though hitherto he had been alwayes a conquerour, was faine to depart with disgrace. So small a *remora* may stay that ship which saileth with the fairest gale of successe.

\* Tyrtius, lib. 9. cap. 10. Idem, lib. 9. cap. 19.

Chap. 4.

*The originall and increase of the Hospitallers; their degenerating through wealth into luxury.*

\* About this time under Gerard their first master, began the Order of Knights-hospitallers. Indeed more anciently there were Hospitallers in Jerusalem: but these were no Knights: they had a kind of order, but no honour annexed to it; but were pure Alms-men, whose house was founded and they maintained by the charity of the merchants of Amalphia a citie in Italy.

\* Hospinian. De orig. Mon. fol. 165.

But now they had more stately buildings assigned unto them, their house dedicated to S. John of Jerusalem; Knights-hospitallers and those of S. John of Jerusalem being both the same; although learned \* Dr Ridley maketh them two distinct orders, for which our \* great Antiquary doth justly reprove him. But such an error is veniall; and it is a greater fault rigidly to censure, then to commit a small oversight. The one sheweth himself man, in mistaking; the other no man, in not pardoning a light mistake.

\* In his View of civill law, pag. 159. \* Mr Selden, in his preface Of titles, pag. 6.

To make one capable of the highest order of this Knight-hood (for their \* servitours and priests might be of an inferiour rank) the party must thus be qualified: Eighteen yeares old at the least; of an able body; not descended of Jewish or Turkish parents; no bastard, except bastard to a Prince, there being honour in that dishonour, as there is light in the very spots of the moon. Descended he must be of worshipfull parentage. They wore a red belt with a white crosse; and on a black cloke the white crosse of Jerusalem, which is a crosse crossed, or five crosses together, in memorie of our Saviours five wounds. Yet

\* Hospinian. De orig. Mon. fol. 165.

was there some difference betwixt their habit in peace and in warre. Their profession was to fight against Infidels, and to secure Pilgrimes coming to the Sepulchre; and they vowed Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. Reimundus de Podio their second master made some additionalls to their profession: as, They must receive the sacrament thrice a yeare; heare Masse once a day if possible: They were to be no merchants, no usurers; to fight no private duells; to stand neuters and to take no side, if the Princes in Christendome should fall out.

But it is given to most religious orders, to be clear in the spring and mirie in the stream. These Hospitallers afterwards getting wealth, unlaced themselves from the strictnesse of their first Institution, and grew loose into all licentiousnesse. What was their obedience to their master but rebellion against the Patriarch their first patron: as shall be shewed hereafter. What was their poverty but a couzenage of the world; whilest their order sued *in forma pauperis*, and yet had \* nineteen thousand manours in Christendome belonging unto them? Neither will it be *scandalum magnatum* to their lordships, to say what S. \* Bernard speaketh of their chastity, how they lived *inter scorta & epulas*, betwixt bawds and banquets. And no wonder if their forced virginity was the mother of much uncleannesse: For commonly those who vow not to go the high-way of Gods ordinance, do haunt base and unwarrantable by-paths.

I will not forestall the history, to shew how these Hospitallers were afterwards Knights of Rhodes, and at this day of Malta; but will conclude with the ceremonies used at their creation, because much materiall stuff no doubt may be picked out of their formalities.

There is delivered them, 1. a \* sword, in token that they must be valiant, 2. with a crosse-hilt; their valour must defend religion: 3. With this sword they are struck three times over the shoulders, to teach them patiently to suffer for Christ: 4. They must wipe the sword; their life must be undefiled. 5. Gilt spurres are put on them, because they are to scorn wealth at their heels: 6. And then they take a taper in their hands, for they are to lighten others by their exemplary lives; 7. and so go to heare Masse: where we leave them.

\* At the same time Knights of the Sepulchre were also ordained, which for their originall and profession are like to these Knights-hospitallers. The order continueth to this day. The Padre Guardian of Jerusalem maketh them of such as have seen the Sepulchre. They should be Gentlemen by birth: but the Padre carrieth a Chancerie in his bosome to mitigate the rigour of this Common law, and will admit of him that bringeth far enough, though no bloud: as of late he made an Apothecary of

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Hospitalian, ut prius.

\* Camb. Brit. pag. 311.

\* Cited by Volaterran.

\* Sand. Trav. pag. 229.

\* Sand. Trav. pag. 159.

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of Aleppo of that honour: So that there the sword of Knight-hood is denied to none who bring a good sheath with them, and have a purse to pay soundly for it.

## Chap. 5.

### *The scuffling betwixt the King and Patriarch about the city of Jerusalem; the issue thereof.*

NOt long after, there was started a controversie of great consequence betwixt the King and Patriarch: the Patriarch claiming the cities of Jerusalem and Joppa, with the appertinances; the King refusing to surrender them.

The Patriarch pleaded, That these places anciently belonged to his predecessours: He set before the King the hainousnesse of sacriledge; how great a sinne it was when Princes, who should be nursing-fathers and suckle the Church, shall suck from it: and shewed how the Common-wealth may grow fat, but never healthfull, by feeding on the Churches goods.

On the other side the King alledged, That the Christian Princes had now purchased Jerusalem with their bloud, and bestowed it on him: that the Patriarchs overgrown title was drowned in this late conquest; from which, as from a new foundation, all must build their claims who challenge any right to any part in the city. Secondly, he pleaded, it was unreasonable that the King of Jerusalem should have nothing in Jerusalem (as at this day the Romane Emperour is a very cypre, without power or profit in Rome) and should live rather as a sojourner then a Prince in his royall citie, confined to an airy title, whilest the Patriarch should have all the command.

To this the Patriarch answered, That the Christians new conquest could not cancell his ancient right, which was enjoyed even under the Saracens; That this voyage was principally undertaken for advancing the Church, and not to restore her onely to her liberty, and withhold from her her lands, so that in this respect she should find better usage from her foes then from her children. If we mistake not, the chief pinch of the cause lieth on the Patriarchs proof, that the lands he demanded formerly belonged to his predecessours: and we find him to fail in the main issue of the matter. True it was, that for the last thirty yeares the Patriarchs on condition they should repair and fortifie the walls of Jerusalem, were possessed of a fourth part of the city, even by grant from Bohenfor the Emperour of the

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Saracens,

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\* Lib. 9.  
cap. 16.

Saracens, in the yeare of our Lord 1063. But that ever he had the whole citie, either by this or by any previous grant, it appeareth not in Tyrius; who saith moreover, \* We wonder for what reason the lord Patriarch should raise this controversie against Duke Godfrey.

Let me adde, that this our Authour is above exception: for being both a politick states-man and pious prelate, no doubt his penne strikes the true and even stroke betwixt King and Patriarch. Besides, he might well see the truth of this matter, writing in a well-proportioned distance of time from it. Those who live too neare the stories they write, oftentimes willingly mistake through partiality; and those who live too farre off, are mistaken by uncertainties, the footsteps of truth being almost worn out with time.

But to return to Godfrey, who though unwilling at first, yet afterwards not onely on Candlemasse-day restored to the Patriarch the fourth part of the citie, but also on the Easter following, gave him all Jerusalem, Joppa, and whatsoever he demanded: conditionally that the King should hold it of the Patriarch till such time as he could conquer Babylon, or some other royall citie fit for him to keep his court in. If in the mean time Godfrey died without issue, the Patriarch was to have it presently delivered unto him.

\* Centuriatores, centur. 12. col. 490.  
De schismat.

We will be more charitable then those that say that the Patriarch herein did \* bewitch and bemaad Godfrey to make this large donation to him, by torturing his conscience at the confession of his finnes. Onely we may question the discretion of this Prince in giving a gift of so large a size: for Charities eyes must be open as well as her hands; though she giveth away her branches, not to part with the root.

And let the reader observe, that Godfrey at the time of this his bountifull grant lay on his death-bed, sick of that irrecoverable disease which ended him. How easily may importunity stamp any impresson on those whom desperate sicknesse hath softened! And if the sturdiest man nigh death may be affrighted into good works for fear of Purgatory, no wonder if devout Godfrey were pliable to any demand. \* Pierce Plowman maketh a witty wonder, why Friars should covet rather to confesse and bury, then to christen children; intimating it proceeded from covetousnesse, there being gain to be gotten by the one, none by the other. And this was the age wherein the Covents got their best living by the dying: which made them (contrary to all other people) most to worship the sunne setting.

Chap.

\* In his Pass. 11.

Chap. 6.

*Godfreys death and buriall.*

Anno Dom. 1100

At hours differ on the death of this noble King: some making him to die of that long-wasting sicknesse; others, of the \* plague: It may be the plague took him out of the hands of that lingering disease, and quickly cut off what that had been long in fretting. He died July 18. having reigned one yeare wanting five dayes. A Prince valiant, pious, bountifull to the Church: for besides what he gave to the Patriarch, he founded Canons in the temple of the Sepulchre, and a monasterie in the vale of Jehoshaphat.

\* P. Amyli. lib. 5.

We would say his death was very unseasonable (leaving the orphan State not onely in its minority, but its infancy) but that that fruit which to mans apprehension is blown down green and untimely, is gathered full-ripe in Gods providence. He was buried in the temple of the Sepulchre, where his tombe is unviolated at this day; whether out of a religion the Turks bear to the place, or out of honour to his memory, or out of a valiant scorn to fight against dead bones; or perchance the Turks are minded as John King of England was, who being wished by a Courtier to untombe the bones of one who whilest he was living had been his great enemy, Oh no, said King John, would all mine enemies were as honourably buried.

Chap. 7.

*Baldwine chosen King. He keepeth Jerusalem in despite of the Patriarch.*

1100

Godfrey being dead, the Christians with a joint consent dispatched an embassie to Baldwin his brother, Count of Edessa (a city in \* Arabia, the lord whereof had adopted this Baldwin to be his heir) entreated him to accept of the Kingdom: which honourable offer he courteously embraced.

\* P. in. lib. 5. cap. 24.

A Prince whose body Nature cut of the largest size, being like \* Saul, higher by the head then his subjects. And though the Goths had a law, alwayes to choose a \* short thick man for their King; yet surely a goodly stature is most majesticall. His hair and beard brown, face fair, with an eagles nose; which in the \* Persian Kings was anciently observed as a mark of magnanimity.

\* Tyrim. lib. 10. cap. 2.  
\* Jewell. Cosmog. lib. 3. pag. 164.  
\* Pantel. in vita Caroli 5.

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\* Tyrim, lib.  
10. cap. 1.  
\* Fox, Mat  
tyrol. pag.  
136.

nimity. Bred he was a scholar, entred into Orders, and was Prebendary in the \* churches of Rhems, Liege, and Cambray; but afterwards turned secular Prince, as our \* Athelwulphus, who exchanged the mitre of Winchester for the crown of England. Yet Baldwine put not off his scholarship with his habit, but made good use thereof in his reigne. For though bookishnesse may unactive, yet learning doth accomplish a Prince, and maketh him sway his sceptre the steadier.

He was properly the first King of Jerusalem (his brother Godfrey never accounted more then a Duke) and was crowned on Christmasse-day. The reason that made him assume the name of a King, was thereby to strike the greater \* terror in to the Pagans. Thus our Kings of England from the dayes of King John were styled but Lords of Ireland, till Henry the 8. first entitled himself King, because \* Lord was sleighted by the seditious rebels. As for that religious scruple which Godfrey made, to wear a crown of gold where Christ wore one of thorns, Baldwine easily dispensed therewith. And surely in these things the mind is all: A crown might be refused with pride, and worn with humility.

But before his Coronation there was a tough bickering about the city of Jerusalem. Dabert the Patriarch, on the death of Godfrey, devoured Jerusalem and the towre of David in his hope; but coming to take possession, found the place too hot for him. For Garnier Earl of Gertz, in the behalf of King Baldwine (who was not as yet returned from Edeffa) manned it against him. But so it happened, that this valiant Earl died three dayes after, which by \* Dabert was counted a just judgement of God upon him for his sacrilege. Now though it be piety to impute all events to Gods hand, yet to say that this mans death was for such a sinne, sheweth too much presumption towards God, and too little charity towards our neighbour. Indeed if sudden death had singled out this Earl alone, it had somewhat favoured their censure; but there was then a generall mortality in the city which swept away \* thousands: and, which is most materiall, what this Patriarch interpreted sacrilege, others accounted loyalty to his Sovereigne. As for that donation of the city of Jerusalem and towre of David which Godfrey gave to the Patriarch, some thought that this gift overthrew it self with its own greatnesse, being so immoderately large: others supposed it was but a personall act of Godfrey, and therefore died with the giver, as conceiving his successours not obliged to perform it, because it was unreasonable that a Prince should in such sort fetter and restrain those which should come after him. Sure it is, that Baldwine having both the stronger sword, and possession of the

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\* Tyrim, lib.  
10. cap. 4.

\* Ursperg.  
pag. 136.

Anno  
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citie, kept it perforce, whilst the Patriarch took that leave which is allowed to loofers, to talk, chafe, and complain; sending his bemoaning letters to \* Boemund Prince of Antioch, inviting him to take arms, and by violence to recover the Churches right; but from him received the uselesse assistance of his pity, and that was all.

53

\* Tyrim, lib.  
10.

## Chap. 8.

*The Church-story during this Kings reigne. A chain of successive Patriarchs; Dabert, Ebre-mare, Gibelline, and Arnulphus: Their severall characters.*

1102. A fterwards, this breach betwixt the King and Patriarch was made up by the mediation of some friends: but the skinne onely was drawn over, not dead flesh drawn out of the wound; and Arnulphus (whom we mentioned before) discontented for his losse of the Patriarchs place, still kept the fore raw betwixt them. At last Dabertus the Patriarch was faine to flee to Antioch, where he had plentifull maintenance allowed him by Bernard Patriarch of that See. But he was too high in the instep to wear another mans shoes, and conceived himself to be but in a charitable prison whilst he lived on anothers benevolence. Wherefore hence he hastened to \* Rome, complained to the Pope, and received from his Holinesse a command to King Baldwine to be reestablished in the Patriarchs place; but returning home died by the way at Messana in Sicily, being accounted seven yeares Patriarch, foure at home, and three in banishment.

1107. Whilst Dabert was thrust out, one Ebremarus was made Patriarch against his will by King Baldwine. An holy and devout man; but he had more of the dove then the serpent, and was none of the deepest reach. He hearing that he was complained of to the Pope for his irregular election, posted to Rome to excuse himself, shewing he was chosen against his will: and though preferment may not be snatched, it needs not be thrust away. But all would not do; It was enough to put him out, because the King put him in. Wherefore he was commanded to return home, and to wait the definitive sentence, which Gibellinus Archbishop of Arles and the Popes Legate should pronounce in the matter.

\* Tyrim, lib.  
11. cap. 4.

Gibellinus coming to Jerusalem, concluded the election of Ebremarus to be illegall and void ; and was himself chosen Patriarch in his place ; and the other in reverence of his piety made Archbishop of Cesarea. And though Arnulphus (the firebrand of this Church) desired the Patriarchs place for himself, yet was he better content with Gibellinus his election, because he was a through-old man, and hoped that candle would quickly go out that was in the socket.

\* Tyrinus, lib. 11. cap. 28.

Baronius in anno 1108.

To this Gibellinus King Baldwine granted, that all places which he or his successours should winne, should be subject to his jurisdiction ; and this also was confirmed by Pope Paschall the 2. But Bernard Patriarch of Antioch found himself much aggrieved hereat, because many of these cities by the ancient canon of the Council of Nice, were subject to his Church. At last the Pope took the matter into his hand, and stroked the angry Patriarch of Antioch into gentleness with good language. He shewed, how since the Council of Nice the country had got a new face ; ancient mountains were buried, rivers drowned in oblivion, and they new-christened with other names: Yea, the deluge of the Saracens tyranny had washed away the bounds of the Churches jurisdictions, that now they knew not their own severals, where Mahometanism so long had made all common and waste. He desired him therefore to be contented with this new division of their jurisdictions: especially because it was reasonable, that the King of Jerusalem and his successours should dispose of those places which they should winne with their own swords. Bernard perceiving hereby how his Holiness stood affected in the business, contented his conscience that he had set his title on foot, and then quietly let it fall to the ground, as counting it no policie to shew his teeth where he durst not bite.

Gibellinus never laid claim to the citie of Jerusalem, whether it was because in thankfulness for this large ecclesiasticall power which King Baldwine had bestowed upon him, or that his old age was too weak to strive with so strong an adversarie. He sat foure yeares in his chair, and Arnulphus thinking he went too slow to the grave, is suspected to have given him something to have mended his pace, and was himself substituted in his room by the especial favour of King Baldwine.

This Arnulphus was called *mala corona*, as if all vices met in him to dance a round. And no wonder if the King being himself wantonly disposed, advanced such a man: for generally, loose Patrones cannot abide to be pinched and pent with over-strict Chaplains. Besides, it was policie in him to choose such a Patriarch as was liable to exceptions for his vitious life ; that so if he began to bark against the King, his mouth might be quickly stopped.

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stopped. Arnulphus was as quiet as a lambe, and durst never challenge his interest in Jerusalem from Godfreys donation ; as fearing to wrestle with the King, who had him on the hip, and could out him at pleasure for his bad manners. Amongst other vices he was a great church-robber, who to make Emmelot his niece a Princeesse, and to marry Eustace Prince of Sidon, gave her the citie of Jericho for her dowrie, and lands belonging to his See worth five thousand crowns yearly. And though Papists may pretend that marriage causeth covertousnesse in the Clergie, yet we shall find when the Prelacie were constrained to a single life, that their nephews ate more church-bread then now the children of married Ministers. Yea, some Popes not onely fed their bastards with church-milk, but even cut off the churches breasts for their pompous and magnificent maintenance. And thus having dispatched the story of the Church in this Kings reigne, we come now to handle the business of the Common-wealth entirely by it self.

### Chap. 9.

*A mountain-like army of new adventurers after long and hard travail delivered of a mouse; A lexus his treachery.*

1101

THE same of the good success in Palestine summoned a new supply of other Pilgrimes out of Christendome. Germany, and other places which were sparing at the first voyage, made now amends with double liberality. The chief adventurers were, Guelpho Duke of Bavaria, (who formerly had been a great champion of the Popes against Henry the Emperour ; and from him \* they of the Papall faction were denominated Guelphes, in distinction from the Imperiall party which were called Gibellines.) Hugh brother to the King of France, and Stephen Earl of Bloys, (both which had much suffered in their reputation for deserting their fellows in the former expedition, and therefore they sought to unstain their credits by going again.) Stephen Earl of Burgundy, William Duke of Aquitain, Frederick Count of Bogen, Hugh brother to the Earl of Tholose: besides many great Prelates; Diemo Archbishop of Saltzburg, the \* Bishops of Millain and Pavia, which led 50000 out of Lombardy, the totall summe amounting to 250000. All stood on the tiptoes of expectation to see what so great an army would achieve ; men commonly measuring victories by the mul-

\* Pantul. De bish. Germ. part. 2. pag. 151.

\* Hist. Ger. pag. 237.

1112.

56

\* In Chronica,  
pag. 239.

\* Cited by  
Lampad.  
Mellif. bistor.  
part 3. pag.  
268.

\* Befoldus.  
\* P. Amy.  
pag. 140.

\* Nunn. Conf.  
mog. pag. 640.

multitudes of the souldiers. But they did nothing memorable, save onely that so many went so farre to do nothing. Their sufferings are more famous then their deeds; being so consumed with plague, famine, and the sword, that \* Conrade Abbot of Ursprung, who went and wrote this voyage, beleeveth that not a thousand of all these came into Palestine, and those so poore that their bones would scarce hold together: so that they were fitter to be sent into an hospitall then to march into the field; having nothing about them wherewith to affright their enemies, except it were the ghost-like ghastrinesse of their famished faces. The army that came out of Lombardy were so eaten up by the swords of the Turks, that no fragments of them were left, nor news to be heard what was become of them: And no wonder, being led by Prelates unexperienced in martiall affairs, which, though perchance great Clerks, were now to turn over a new leaf, which they had no skill to reade. \* Luther was wont to say, that he would be unwilling to be a souldier in that army where Priests were Captains; because the Church and not the Camp was their proper place; whereas going to warre, they willingly outed themselves of Gods protection, being out of their vocation.

But the main matter which made this whole voyage miscarry in her travail, was the treachery of the midwife through whose hands it was to passe. For Alexius the Grecian Emperour feared, lest betwixt the Latines in the East in Palestine, and West in Europe, as betwixt two millstones, his Empire lying in the midst should be ground to powder. Whereupon, as these Pilgrimes went through his countrey, he did them all possible mischief, still under the pretense of kindnesse, (What hinderer to a false helper :) calling the chief Captains of the army his sonnes; but they found it true, The more courtesie, the more craft. Yea, this deep dissembler would put off his vizard in private, and professe to his friends that he delighted as much to see the Turks and these Christians in battel, as to see \* mastiffs dogs fight together; and that \* which side soever lost, yet he himself would be a gainer.

But when they had passed Grecia, and had crossed the Bosphorus (otherwise called The arm of S. George) entring into the dominion of the Turks, they were for thirty dayes exposed a mark to their arrows. And though this great multitude was never stabbed with any mortall defeat in a set battel, yet they consumed away by degrees, the cowardly Turks striking them when their hands were pinned up in the straits of unknown passages. The Generalls bestrewed the countrey about with their corpses. Great Hugh of France was buried at Tarsus in Cilicia; Duke Guelpho, at Paphos in Cyprus; \* Diemo the Arch-

Anno  
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Archbishop of Saltzburg saw his own heart cut out, and was \* martyred by the Turks at Chorazin: And God (saith my Author) manifested by the event, that the warre was not pleasing unto him.

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\* M. per.  
pag. 238.

## Chap. 10.

### *Antipatris and Cesarea wonne by the Christians. The variety of King Baldwines successe.*

MEan time King Baldwin was employed with better successe in Palestine: for hitherto Joppa was the onely port the Christians had; but now by the assistance of the Genoan fleet (who for their pains were to have \* a third part of the spoil, and a whole street to themselves of every city they took) Baldwin wonne most considerable havens along the mid-land-sea. He began with Antipatris, to ransom the Christian honour which was morgaged here, because Godfrey was driven away from hence: And no wonder, having no \* shipping; whereas that Army which takes a strong harbour, otter-like must swim at sea as well as go on ground.

\* Tyrius, lib.  
10. cap. 14.

\* Tyrius, lib.  
9. cap. 18.

\* Josephus.

Next he took Cesarea-Stratonis, built and so named in the honour of Cesar Augustus, by Herod the great; who so \* politically poised himself, that he sat upright whilest the wheel of Fortune turned round under him. Let Antony winne, let Augustus winne, all one to him; by contrary winds he sailed to his own ends. Cesarea taken, Baldwin at Rhamula put the Turks to a great overthrow.

But see the chance of warre; Few dayes after at the same place he received a great defeat by the Infidels, wherein besides many others, the two Stephens, Earls of Burgundy and Bloys, were slain. This was the first great overthrow the Christians suffered in Palestine: and needs must blows be grievous to them who were not used to be beaten. The King was reported slain, but fame deserved to be pardoned for so good a lie; which for the present much disheartened the Christians, a great part of the souldiers courage being wrapped up in the life of the Generall.

Baronius (as bold as any \* Bethlemite to pry into the ark of Gods secrets) \* saith, This was a just punishment on Baldwin for detaining the Churches goods. But to leave hidden things to God, the apparent cause of his overthrow was his own \* rashnesse, being desirous to ingrosse all the credit alone, without sending for succours and supplies from his neighbours. He assaulted

\* 1. Sam. 6.  
\* In Aenol.  
Ecclesi. anno  
1100. &  
rusus, anno  
1104.  
\* Tyrius, lib.  
10. cap. 10.

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faulted his numerous enemies with an handfull of men; and so brake himself, with covetousnesse to purchase more honour then he could pay for. And herein he discovered his want of judgement, being indeed like an arrow well-feathered, but with a blunt pile; he flew swift, but did not sink deep. Thus his credit lay bleeding, but he quickly stanchd it. The Pagans little suspecting to be re-incountred, gave themselves over to mirth and jollity (as security oftentimes maketh the sword to fall out of their hands from whom no force could wrest it) when Baldwine coming on them with fresh soldiers, strook them with the back-blows of an unexpected enemy, which wayes pierce the deepest, routed them and put them to the flight. This his victory followed so suddenly after his overthrow, that some mention not the overthrow at all, but the victory onely; as that good horseman is scarce perceived to be thrown, that quickly recovereth the saddle.

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Chap. II.

*The conquest of sundry fair havens by the Christians; Ptolemais, &c.*

Whilest the King was thus busied in battel, Tancred Prince of Galilee was not idle, but enlarged the Christian dominions with the taking of Apamea and Laodicea. These cities in Celosyria were built by \* Antiochus: and they agreed so well together, that they were called sisters; and as in concord, so in condition they went hand in hand, being now both conquered together.

\* Tyrius, lib. 10. cap. 23. Idem, cap. 28.

Ptolemais next stooped to the Christian yoke, so named from Ptolemy Philometor King of Egypt; a citie on the Mediterranean, of a triangular form, having two sides washed with the sea, the third regarding the champian. The Genoan galleys being 70 in number, did the main service in conquering, and had granted them for their reward large profits from the harbour, a church to themselves, & jurisdiction over a fourth part of the citie. This Ptolemais was afterwards the very seat of the Holy warre. Let me mind the Reader of a Latine proverb, \* *Lia Ptolemaica*; that is, A long and constant strife; so called from Ptolemais, a froward old woman who was never out of wrangling. But may not the proverb as well be verified of this citie, in which there was ninetie yeares fighting against the Turks?

\* Vide Euseb. Adag.

\* Tyrius, lib. 10. cap. 30.

With \* worse successe did Baldwine Count of Edeffa, and Earl

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Earl Joceline besiege Charran in Mesopotamia: for when it was ready to be surrendred, the Christian Captains fell out amongst themselves, were defeated by the Pagans, and the two forenamed Earls taken prisoners. This Charran is famous for \* Abrahams living, and his father Terahs dying there: And in the same place rich \* Crassus the Romane vomited up the sacrilegious goods he had devoured of the temple of Jerusalem, and had his army overthrown. Nor here may we overpasse, how Boemund Prince of Antioch with a great navie spoiled the harbours of Grecia, to be revenged of treacherous Alexius the Emperour. Voluntaries for this service he had enough, all desiring to have a lash at the dog in the manger, and every mans hand itching to throw a cudgel at him; who like a nut-tree must be manured by beating, or else would never bear fruit: yet on some conditions an agreement at last was made betwixt them.

\* Gen. 11. 31. \* Josephus.

Tyrius, lib. 11 cap. 6.

Idem.

To return to Palestine. The next citie that felt the victorious arms of the Christians was Byblus; a good haven, and built by Heveus the sixth sonne of Canaan. Here Adonis was anciently worshipped, whose untimely death by a bore Venus so much bemoaned: And the fable is moralized, when Lust lamenteth the losse of Beauty consumed by age. Nor did Tripoli hold out long after; so called, because jointly built by the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Aradites. And Berytus (since Barutus) accompanied her neighbour, and both of them were yeilded unto the Christians. The King created one Bertram, a well-deserving Noble-man, Earl of Tripoli; who did homage to the King for his place, which was accounted a title of great honour, as being one of the foure Tetrarchies of the kingdome of Jerusalem.

1109

1102

1104

Chap. 12.

*The description of Sidon and Tyre; the one taken, the other besieged in vain by Baldwine.*

Sidon is the most ancient citie of Phenicia. And though the Sproud Grecians counted all Barbarians besides themselves, yet Phenicia was the schoolmistresse of Grecia, and first taught her her alphabet. For Cadmus a Phenician born, first invented and brought letters to Thebes. Sidon had her name from the eldest sonne of \* Canaan, and was famous for the finest crystal-glasses, which here were made. The glassie sand was fetched 40 miles off, from the river Belus: but it could not be made

\* Gen. 10. 15.

\* fusile

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\* Sand. Trav. pag. 210.

\* Tyrius. lib. 11. cap. 14.

\* fusile till it was brought hither; whether for want of tools, or from some secret sullen humour therein, we will not dispute. This citie anciently was of great renown: but her fortune being as brittle as her glasse, she was faine to find neck for every one of the Monarchs yokes; and now at last (by the assistance of the \* Danish and Norvegian fleet) was subdued by the Christians.

Fleshed with this conquest, they next besieged Tyre. Sea and land, nature and art consented together to make this city strong: for it was seated in an island, save that it was tacked to the continent with a small neck of land, which was fortified with many walls and towres. It is questionable whether the strength or wealth of this city was greater; but out of question that the pride was greater then either. Here the best purples were died, a colour even from the beginning destined to Courts and Magistracie; and here the richest clothes were imbroidered and curiously wrought. And though generally those who are best with their fingers are worst with their arms, yet the Tyrians were also stout men, able mariners, and the planters of the noblest colonies in the world. As their city was the daughter of Zidon, so was it mother to Romes rivall Carthage, Leptis, Utica, Cadiz, and Nola. The most plentiful proof they gave of their valour, was, when for three yeares they defended themselves against Nebuchadnezzar; and afterwards stopped the full career of Alexanders conquests; so that his victorious army which did flie into other countreys, was glad to creep into this citie. Yet after seven moneths siege (such is the omnipotency of industry) he forced it, and stripped this lady of the sea naked beyond modesty and mercy, putting all therein to the sword that resisted, and hanged up 2000 of the prime citizens in a rank along the sea-shore.

Yet afterwards Tyre out-grew these her miseries, and attained, though not to her first giant-like, yet to a competent proportion of greatnesse. At this time wherein King Baldwine besieged it, it was of great strength and importance, insomuch that finding it a weight too heavy for his shoulders, he was faine to break off his siege and depart.

With worse success he afterwards did rashly give battel to the vast army of the Persian Generall, wherein he lost many men, all his baggage, and escaped himself with great difficulty.

Chap.

Anno Dom. 1112

Dec. 19. 1112

Tyrius, lib. 11. cap. 19.

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Chap. 13.

*The pleasurable voyages of King Baldwine, and his death.*

After the tempest of a long warre a calm came at last, and King Baldwine had a five yeares vacation of peace in his old age: In which time he disported himself with many voyages for pleasure: as, one to the Red-sea, not so called from the rednesse of the water, or sand, as some without any colour have conceited; but from the neighbouring Edomites, whom the Grecians called Erythreans, or *red men*, truly translating the Hebrew name of Edomites: they had their name of rednesse from their father \* Edom. And here Baldwine surveyed the countrey, with the nature and strength thereof. Another journey he took afterwards into \* Egypt, as conceiving himself engaged in honour to make one inrode into that countrey in part of payment of those many excursions the Egyptians had made into his Kingdome. He took the city of \* Pharamia, anciently called Rameies, and gave the spoil thereof to his souldiers. This work being done, he began his play, and entertained the time with viewing that riddle of Nature, the river of Nilus, whose stream is the confluence of so many wonders: first, for its undiscovered fountain; though some late Geographers, because they would be held more intelligent then others, have found the head of Nilus in their own brains, and make it to flow from a fountain they fantasie in the mountains of the moon, in the south of Africa: then, for the strange creatures bred therein; as river-bulls, horses, and crocodiles: But the chiefest wonder is the yearly increasing thereof from the \* 17. of June to the midst of September, overflowing all Egypt, and the banks of all humane judgement to give the true reason thereof.

Much time Baldwine spent in beholding this river, wherein he took many fishes, and his death in eating them: for a new surfeit revived the grief of an old wound, which he many yeares before received at the siege of Ptolemais. His sicknesse put him in mind of his sinnes, conscience speaking loudest when men begin to grow speechlesse: And especially he grieved, that having another wife alive, he had married the Countesse of Sicilie, the relict of Earl Roger: But now heartily sorrowfull for his fault, he sent away this his last wife: yet we reade not that he received his former again. Other faults he would have amended, but was prevented by death. And no doubt where the deed

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could

\* Scalig. on Fessus, in Aegyptius. & Fuller, Miscell. lib. 4. cap. 20.  
\* Tyrius, lib. 11. cap. 11.  
\* Calvisius makes it to be wonne at the former voyage.

\* Sand Trav. pag. 94.

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could not be present, the desire was a sufficient proxy. He died at Laris, a city in the road from Egypt, and was brought to Jerusalem, and buried on Palm-sunday in the temple of the Sepulchre, in the 18. year of his reigne.

A Prince superiour to his brother Godfrey in learning, equall in valour, inferiour in judgement; rash, precipitate, greedy of honour, but swallowing more then he could digest, and undertaking what he was not able to perform; little-affected to the Clergie, or rather to their temporall greatnesse, especially when it came in competition with his own; much given to women, (besides the three wives he had, first marrying Gutrera an English-woman; after her death, Taffor an Armenian Lady; and whilest she yet survived, the Countesse of Sicilie) yet he had no child, God commonly punishing wantonnesse with barrennesse. For the rest, we referre the reader to the dull Epitaph written on his tombe, which (like the verses of that age) runneth in a kind of rhytme, though it can scarce stand on true feet:

*Rex Baldwinus, Judas alter Maccabeus,  
Spes patria, vigor Ecclesia, virtus utriusq;  
Quem formidabant, cui dona tributa ferebant,  
\* Cedar, Egypti Dan, ac homicida Damascus;  
Proh dolor! in modico claudisur hoc tumulo.*

\* Aliter Cesar.

Baldwine another Maccabee for might;  
Hope, help of State, of Church, and boths delight;  
Cedar, with Egypts Dan of him afraid,  
Bloudy Damascus to him tribute paid:  
Alas! here in this tombe is laid.

Let him who pleaseth play the critick on the divers readings; and whether by *Dan* be meant the Souldan, or whether it relateth to the conceit that Antichrist shall come of the tribe of Dan. But perchance the text is not worth a comment.

Chap. 14.

*Baldwine the second chosen King; Prince Eustace peaceably renounceth his right.*

IT happened the same day King Baldwine was buried, that Baldwine de Burgo his kinsman and Count of Edessa came casually into the city, intending onely there to keep his Easter: when behold the Christian Princes met together for the electi-

Anno Dom. 1118 Mar. 26.

on of a new King. The greater part did centre their suffrages on Prince Eustace, brother to the two former Kings, but then absent in France. They alledged, That it was not safe to break the chain of succession, where the inversion of order bringeth all to confusion; and, That it was high ingratitude to the memories of Godfrey and Baldwine, to exclude their brother from the crown; especially he being fit in all points to be a King, wanting nothing but that he wanted to be there; That in the mean time some might be deputed to lock up all things safe, and to keep the keys of the State till he should arrive.

On the other side, some objected the dangers of an *inter-regnum*, how when a State is headlesse, every malecontent would make head; inconveniences in other countreys would be mischiefs here, where they lived in the mouth of their enemies: and therefore to stay for a King, was the way to lose the Kingdome.

Then Joceline Prince of Tiberias, a man of great authoritie, offered himself a moderatour in this difference, and counselled both sides to this effect: To proceed to a present election, and therein to be directed not confined by succession; though they missed the next, let them take one of Godfreys kindred: As the case now stood, he must be counted next in blood that was next at hand; and this was Baldwine Count of Edessa, on whom he bestowed most superlative praises. All were much affected with these his commendations; for they knew that Joceline was his sworn adversary, and concluded that it must needs be a mighty weight of worth in Baldwine, which pressed out praise from the mouth of his enemy: though indeed private ends prompted him to make this speech, who hoped himself to get the Earldome of Edessa when Baldwine should be translated to Jerusalem. However, his words took effect, and Baldwine hereupon was chosen King, and \* crowned on Easter-day by Arnulphus the Patriarch.

1118 April 2.

Mean time some secretly were sent to Prince Eustace to come and challenge the crown. But he hearing that another was already in possession, though he was on his journey coming, quietly went back again. A large alms, to give away a Kingdome out of his charity to the publick cause.

Baldwine was of a proper personage, and able body, born nigh Rhems in France, sonne to Hugh Count of Norset and Millisent his wife. He was exceedingly charitable to the poore, and pious towards God; wincesse the brawn on his hands and knees made with continuall praying: valiant also, and excellently well seen in all martiall affairs.

We had almost forgotten what happened in this yeare, the death of Alexius the Grecian Emperour, that arch-hypocrite and

\* Tyrius, lib. 12. cap. 4.

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and grand enemy of this warre. On whom we may bestow this Epitaph:

*If he of men the best doth know to live  
Who best knows to dissemble, justly then  
To thee, Alexius, we this praise must give,  
That thou to live didst know the best of men.  
And this was it at last did stop thy breath,  
Thou knew'st not how to counterfeit with death.*

His sonne Calo-Johannes succeeded him in his Empire, of whom we shall have much cause to speak hereafter.

### Chap. 15.

#### *The ecclesiasticall affairs in this Kings reigne.*

According to our wonted method, let us first rid out of the Away Church-matters in this Kings reigne, that so we may have the more room to follow the affairs of the Commonwealth. We left Arnulphus the last Patriarch of Jerusalem; since which time the bad favour of his life came to the Popes nose, who sent a Legate to depose him. But Arnulphus hasted to Rome with much \* money, and there bought himself to be innocent, so that he enjoyed his place during his life.

Guarimund succeeded in his place, a very religious man, by whom God gave the Christians many victories. He called a Council at Neapolis or Sichein, wherein many wholesome things were concluded for reformation of manners. Betwixt him and William Archbishop of Tyre (an English-man) there arose a difference, because this Archbishop would not receive his confirmation of him, (from whom by ancient right he should take it) but from the Pope, counting it the most honour to hold of the highest landlord. And indeed the Pope for gain confirmed him, though he should have sent him to the Patriarch. But the court of Rome careth not though men steal their corn, so be it they bring it to their mills to grind.

After Guarimunds death, Stephen Abbot of S. John de Valia was chosen Patriarch; once a cavalier, but afterward laying down the sword, he took up the Word, and entred into Orders. He awaked the Patriarchs title to Jerusalem, which had slept during his three predecessours, and challenged it very imperiously of the King; for he was a man of spirit and metall. And indeed he had too much life to live long. For the King fearing what flame this spark might kindle, and finding him to be an active man, gave him (as it is suspected) a little more active poison,

\* Tyrim, lib. 11. cap. 26.

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1130.

son, which cut him off in the midst of his age, and beginning of his projects.

The King coming to him when he lay on his death-bed, asked him how he did: To whom he answered, My \* Lord, for the present I am as you would have me. A cruel murder, if true: But it is strange, that he whose hands (as we have said) were hardened with frequent prayer, should soften them again in innocent blood. Wherefore we will not condemn the memory of a King on doubtful evidence. The Patriarchs place was filled with William Prior of the Sepulchre, a Fleming; a man better beloved then learned.

\* Tyrim, lib. 13. cap. 25.

### Chap. 16.

#### *Knights-Templars, and Teutonicks instituted.*

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About this time the two great orders of Templars and Teutonicks appeared in the world. The former under Hugh de Paganis, and Ganfred of S. Omer their first founders. They agreed in profession with the Hospitallers, and performed it alike, vowing Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, and to defend Pilgrimes coming to the Sepulchre. It is \* falsely fathered on S. Bernard, that he appointed them their rule; who prescribeth not what they should do, but onely \* describeth what they did: namely, How they were never idle, mending their old clothes when wanting other employment; never played at cheffe or dice, never hawked nor hunted, beheld no stage-playes; arming themselves with faith within, with steel without; aiming more at strength then state; to be feared, not admired; to strike terror with their valour, not stirre covetousnesse with their wealth in the heart of their enemies. Other sweet praises of them let him who pleaseth fetch from the mouth of this mellifluous Doctor.

\* Baronius, in anno 1127.

\* Quarto & quinto cap. exhort.

Indeed at first they were very poore; in token whereof they gave for their \* Seal, Two men riding on one horse. And hence it was, that if the Turks took any of them prisoners, their constant ranfome was a \* Sword and a Belt; it being conceived that their poore state could stretch to no higher price. But after their order was confirmed by Pope Honorius (by the intreatie of Stephen the Patriarch of Jerusalem) who appointed them to wear a White garment, to which Eugenius the third added a Red crosse on their breast; they grew wonderfully rich by the bounty of severall Patrones: Yea, \* the King and Patriarch of Jerusalem dandled this infant-order so long in their laps till it

\* Hæver, Funmon pag. 71.  
\* Hospin. De orig. mon.

\* Tyrim, lib. 11. cap. 7.

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brake their knees, it grew so heavy at last; and these ungratefull Templars did pluck out the feathers of those wings which hatched and brooded them. From Alas-men they turned Lords; and though very valiant at first (for they were sworn rather to die then to flie) afterwards laziness withered their arms, and swelled their bellies. They laughed at the rules of their first institution, as at the swaddling-clothes of their infancie; neglecting the Patriarch, and counting themselves too old to be whipped with the rod of his discipline; till partly their viciousness, and partly their wealth caused their finall extirpation, as (God willing) shall be shewed \* hereafter.

\* Lib. 5. cap. 1.  
23.

At the same time began the Teutonick order, consisting onely of Dutch-men well descended, living at Jerusalem in an house which one of that nation bequeathed to his countrey-men that came thither on pilgrimage. In the year 1190 their order was honoured with a great Master, whereof the first was Henry a Walpot; and they had an habit assigned them to wear, Black crosses on White robes: They were to fight in the defense of Christianity against Pagans. But we shall meet with them more largely in the following story.

### Chap. 17.

#### *The Christians variety of successe; Tyre taken by the assistance of the Venetians.*

Tyrius, lib.  
12. cap. 10.

IT is worth the Readers marking, how this Kings reigne was checkered with variety of fortune: For first, Roger Prince of Antioch (or rather guardian in the minoritie of young Boemund) went forth with greater courage then discretion; whereunto his successe was answerable, being conquered and killed by the Turks. But Baldwine on the 14 of August following, forced the Turks to a restitution of their victorie, and with a small army gave them a great overthrow, in spite of Gazi their boasting General.

To qualifie the Christians joy for this good successe, Joceline unadvisedly fighting with Balak, a petty King of the Turks, was conquered and taken prisoner: and King Baldwine coming to deliver him, was also taken himself; for which he might thank his own rashness: For it had been his best work to have done nothing for a while, till the Venetian succours which were not farre off, had come to him; and not presently to adventure all to the hazard of a battel.

Yet the Christians hands were not bound in the Kings captivity:

Anno  
Dom.  
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vity: For Eustace Grenier, chosen Vice-roy whilest the King was in durance, stoutly defended the countrey: and Count Joceline, which had escaped out of prison, fighting again with Balak at Hircapolis, routed his army, and killed him with his own hands. But the main piece of service was the taking of Tyre, which was done under the conduct of Guarimund the Patriarch of Jerusalem; but chiefly by the help of the Venetian navy, which Michael their Duke brought, who for their pains were to have a third part of the city to themselves. Tyre had in it store of men and munition; but famine increasing (against whose arrows there is no armour of proof) it was yielded on honourable terms. And though perhaps hunger shortly would have made the Turks digest courser conditions, yet the Christians were loth to anger their enemies valour into desperate-ness.

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Next yeare the King returned home, having been eighteen moneths a prisoner, being to pay for his ranfome an hundred thousand Michaelers, and for security he left his daughter in pawn. But he payed the Turks with their own money, (which was as good coin) with the money of the Saracens, vanquishing Barlequen their Captain at Antiochia: and not long after, he conquered Doldequin another great Commander of them at Damascus.

To correct the rankness of the Christians pride for this good successe, Damascus was afterward by them unfortunately besieged: Heaven discharged against them thunder-ordnance, arrows of lightning, small-shot of hail, whereby they being miserably wasted were forced to depart. And this affliction was increased when Boemund the young Prince of Antioch, one of great hope and much lamented, was defeated and slain. Authors impute these mishaps to the Christians pride, and relying on their own strength, which never is more untrusty then when most trusted. True it was, God often gave them great victories, when they defended themselves in great straits: Hereupon they turned their thankfulness into presumption, grew at last from defending themselves to dare their enemies on disadvantages to their often overthrow: for God will not unmake his miracles by making them common. And may not this also be counted some cause of their ill successe, That they alwayes imputed their victories to the materiall Crosse which was carried before them: So that Christ his glory after his ascension suffered again on the Crosse by their superstition.



Chap. 18.

*The death of Baldwine the second.*

**K**ing Baldwine a litle before his death renounced the world, and took on him a religious habit. This was the fashion of many Princes in that age; though they did it for divers ends. Some thought to make amends for their disordered lives by entring into some holy order at their deaths: Others having surfeted of the worlds vanitie, fasted from it when they could eat no more because of the impotency of their bodies: Others being crossed by the world by some misfortune, sought to crosse the world again in renouncing of it. These like furious gamesters threw up their cards, not out of dislike of gaming but of their game; and they were rather discontented to live then contented to die. But we must beleve that Baldwine did it out of true devotion, to ripen himself for heaven, because he was piously affected from his youth; so that all his life was religiously tuned, though it made the sweetest musick in the clofe. He died not long after, on the 22 of August, in the 13 year of his reigne; and was buried with his predecessours in the temple of the Sepulchre. By Morphe a Grecian Lady his wife, he had foure daughters: whereof Millefent was the eldest, the second Alice, married to young Boemund Prince of Antioch; the third Hodiern, wife to Reimund Prince of Tripoli; and Mete the youngest, Abbesse of Bethanie.

Chap. 19.

*Of Fulco, the fourth King of Jerusalem.*

**F**ulco Earl of Tours, Mam, and Anjou, coming some three 1132  
yeares before on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, there took in marriage Millefent the Kings daughter. He had assigned to him the city of Tyre, and some other princely accommodations for his present maintenance, and the Kingdome after the death of his father in law, which he received accordingly. He was well-nigh 60 yeares old: And by his first wife he had a sonne, Geoffrey Plantagenet Earl of Anjou: to whom he left his lands in France, and from whom our Kings of England are descended. This Fulco was a very valiant man, able both of body and mind. His greatest defect was a weak memory (though not so bad as that of \* Messala Corvinus, who forgot his own name) infomuch

\* Plin. lib. 7.  
cap. 24.

**ANNO** infomuch that he knew not his own servants; and those whom **Dom.** he even now preferred, were presently after strangers unto him. Yet though he had a bad memory whilest he lived, he hath a good one now he is dead, and his vertues are famous to posteritie.

Chap. 20.

*The Church-story during this Kings reigne; The remarkable ruine of Rodolphus Patriarch of Antioch.*

**T**he Church of Jerusalem yeelded no alterations in the reigne of Fulco. But in Antioch there was much stirre who should succeed Bernard that peaceable long-lived man, who sat 36 yeares, and survived eight Patriarchs of Jerusalem. Now whilest the Clergie were tedious in their choice, the Laity was too nimble for them, and they (thinking it equall to have an hand in making, who must have their arms in defending a Patriarch) clapped one \* Rodolphus of noble parentage into the chair. He presently took his pall off from the altar of S. Peter, thereby sparing both his purse and pains to go to Rome, and acknowledging no other superiour then that Apostle for his patrone. This man was the darling of the Gentry, (and no wonder if they loved him who was of their cloth and making) but hated of the Clergie. Wherefore knowing himself to need strong arms who was to swim against the stream, he wrought himself into the favour of the Princesse of Antioch, the widow of young Boemund, so that he commanded all her command, and beat down his enemies with her strength. He promised to make a marriage betwixt her and Reimund Earl of Poitou, (a Frenchman of great fame, who was coming into these parts) but he deceived her, and caused the Earl to marry Constantia the daughter of this Lady, by whom he had the principality of Antioch. Indeed this Constantia was but a child for age; but they never want yeares to marry, who have a Kingdome for their portion.

The Patriarch to make sure work, bound Prince Reimund by an oath to be true to him: But friends unjustly gotten, are seldom comfortably enjoyed: Of his sworn friend, he proved his sworn enemy, and forced him to go up to Rome, there to answer many accusations laid to his charge; wherein the ground-work perchance was true, though malice might set the varnish

\* Tyrius, lib. 15.

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on it. The main matter was, that he made odious comparifons betwixt Antioch and Rome, and counted himfelf equall to his Holineffe.

Rodolphus coming to Rome found the Popes doores shut againft him, but he opened them with a golden key. Money he fowed plentifully, and reaped it when he came to be tried; for he found their hands very foft towards him whom formerly he had greafed in the fift. He alfo refigned his old pall, and took a new one from the Pope. As for his other crimes, it was concluded that Albericus Bifhop of Oftia fhould be fent into Syria the Popes Legate, to examine matters, and to proceed accordingly with the Patriarch as things there fhould be found alledged and proved: Whereat his adverfaries much stormed, who expected that he fhould infantly have been depofed.

Yet afterwards they prevailed mightily with Albericus the Legate, and bowed him on their fide. He coming to Antioch cited the Patriarch to appear; who being thrice called, came not. On his abfence all were prefent with their conjectures what fhould caufe it: Some imputing it to his guiltineffe; others to his contempt; others to his fear of his enemies potencie, or judges partiality: for indeed the Legate came not with a virgin-judgement, but ravifhed with prejudice; being prepoifeffed with this intent to difpoffeffe him of his place. Some thought he relied on his peace formerly made at Rome, where the illegality of his election was rectified by his laying down his firft pall, and affuming a new one from the Pope.

Here was it worth the beholding in what feverall \*ftreams mens affections ran. All wifhed that the tree might be felled, who had hopes to gather chips by his fall; and efpecially one Arnulphus, and Dean Lambert, the promoters againft the Patriarch. Others pitied him, and though perchance content that his roof might be taken down, were loth he fhould be razed to the ground. Some referved their affections till they were counfelled by the event which fide to favour; and would not be engaged by any manifefte declaration, but fo that they might fairly retreat if need required. Amongft other Prelates which were prefent, Serlo Archbifhop of Apamea was one, who formerly had been a great enemy to the Patriarch, but had lately taken himfelf off from that courfe. The Legate demanded of him why he proceeded not to accufe the Patriarch as he was wont: To whom he answered, " \*What formerly I did, was done out of unadvised heat againft the health of my foul, difcovering the nakedneffe of my father, like to curfed Cham; and now God hath recalled me from mine error: fo that I will neither accufe, nor prefumptuously judge him, but am ready to die for his fafety. Hereupon the Legate immediately (fuch

\* Baronius, in anno 1136.

\* Tyrinus, lib. 15. cap. 16.

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was the martiall law in a Church-man) depofed him from his Archbifhoprick. Little hope then had the Patriarch, who faw himfelf condemned in his friend: and he himfelf followed not long after, being thruft out by violence, caft into prifon, and there long kept in chains; till at laft he made anefcape to Rome, intending there to traverfe his caufe again, had not death (occationed by poifon, as is thought) prevented him.

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Idem, lib. 15. cap. 17.

## Chap. 21.

*Calo-Johannes the Grecian Emperour demandeth Antiochia; Reimund the Prince thereof doeth homage to him for it.*

1136

Calo-Johannes the Grecian Emperour came up with a \*vaft Army of horfe and foot, and demanded of Reimund Prince of Antioch, to refigne unto him that whole Signorie, according to the compofition which the Chriftian Princes made with \*Alexius his father.

Hereat Reimund and all the Latines stormed out of meafure: Had they purchafed the inheritance of the land with their own blood, now to turn tenants at will to another? Some pleaded, That the ill uſage of Alexius \*extorted from Godfrey and the reft of the Pilgrimes that agreement; and an oath made by force, is of no force, but may freely be broken, becauſe not freely made. Others alledged, That when Antiochia was firſt wonne, it was offered to Alexius, and \*he refuſed it: ſo fair a tender was a payment. Others argued, That that generation which made this contract was wholly dead, and that the debt deſcended not on them to make it good. But moſt inſiſted on this, That Alexius kept not his covenants, and aſſiſted them not according to the agreement. Indeed he called theſe Princes his ſonnes, but he diſinherited them of their hopes, and all their portion was in promiſes never payed. No reaſon then, that the knot of the agreement ſhould hold them faſt, and let him looſe.

The worſt of theſe anſwers had been good enough, if their ſwords had been as ſtrong as the Grecian Emperours. But he coming with a numerous army, in few dayes overcame all Cilicia (which for ſourty yeares had belonged to the Prince of Antioch) and then beſieged the city of Antioch it ſelf. Force is the body, and reſolution the ſoul of an action: both theſe were well tempered together in the Emperours army; and the city brought to great diſtreſſe. Whereupon Fulk King of Jeruſalem with

\* Tyrinus, lib. 14. cap. 24.

\* Vide ſuprà, book 1. chap. 15.

\* Mr/perg. pag. 233. totius ſacramentus.

\* Vide ſuprà, book 1. chap. 15.

with some other Princes, fearing what wofull conclusion would follow so violent premisses, made a composition between them. So that Reimund did homage to the Emperour, and held his principality as a vassall from him. And though foure yeares after the Emperour came again into these parts, yet he did not much harm; pillaging was all his conquest. Some yeares after he died, being accidentally poisoned by one of his own arrows which he intended for the wild boar. A Prince so much better to the Latines then his father Alexius, as an honourable foe is above a treacherous friend. His Empire he disposed to Emmanuel his sonne.

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### Chap. 22.

*The succession of the Turkish Kings, and the Saracen Caliphs: Of the unlimited power of a Souldan; Some resemblance thereof anciently in the kingdom of France.*

NO great service of moment was performed in the reigne of King Fulk, because he was molested with domesticall disorders, and intestine warres against Paulinus Count of Tripoli, and Hugh Earl of Joppa: Onely Beertheba was fortified, and some forts built about Askelon, as an introduction to besiege it. Also skirmishes were now and then fought with variety of successe, against Sanguin one of the Turks great Princes.

And here let the reader take notice, that though we have mentioned many Commanders, as Auxianus, Corboran, Ammiravissus, Tenduc, Gazi, Balak, Dordequin, Borsequin, Sanguin, some Turkish, some Saracen, yet none of these were absolute Kings (though perchance in courtesie sometimes so styled by writers) but were onely Generals & Lieutenants accountable to their superiours, the Caliphs either of Babylon or Egypt: Who what they were, we referre the reader to our Chronologie.

Caliph was the Pope (as I may say) of the Saracens, a mixture of Priest and Prince. But we need not now trouble our selves with curiosity in their successions; these Caliphs being but obscure men, who confined themselves to pleasures, making play their work, and having their constant diet on the sawce of recreation. We are rather to take notice of their Generals and Captains, which were the men of action. For a Souldan (which was but a Vice-roy) with his borrowed light shineth brighter in history

Anno  
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history then the Caliph himself. Yet may we justly wonder, that these slothfull Caliphs should do nothing themselves, and commit such unlimited power to their Souldans; especially seeing too much trust is a strong temptation to make ambitious flesh and blood disloyall. Yet something may be said for the Caliph of Egypt, besides that the pleasures of that country were sufficient to invite him to a voluptuous life: First, the awfull regard which the Egyptians had of their Princes, gave them security to trust their officers with ample commission. Secondly, herein they followed an ancient custome practised by the Pharaohs anciently; who gave unto Joseph so large authority, as we may read in Genesis. Some example also we have hereof in France about nine hundred yeares ago. Childerick, Theodorick, Clovis, Childebert, Dagobert, &c. a chain of idle Kings well linked together, gave themselves over to pleasures privately, never coming abroad; but onely on May-day they shewed themselves to the people, riding in a chariot, adorned with flowers, and drawn with oxen (slow cattel, but good enough for so lazy luggage) whilst Charles Martell and Pipin, Maiors of the palace, opened packets, gave audience to Embassadors, made warre or peace, enacted and repealed laws at pleasure. till afterwards from controllers of the Kings household they became controllers of the Kings, and at last Kings themselves.

To return to Egypt: Let none be troubled (pardon a charitable digression to satisfie some scrupulous in a point of Chronologie) if they find anciently more Kings of the Egyptians, and longer reigning then the consent of times will allow room for: for no doubt that which hath swelled the number, is the counting Deputies for Kings. Yea, we find the holy Spirit in the same breath, 1. Reg. 22. 47. speak a Vice-roy to be a King and no King; *There was no King in Edom; a Deputy was King.*

S<sup>r</sup> Walter  
Ralegh,  
part 1. book 1  
chap. 26.

Gen. 41. 40.

MELEX in  
boih.

### Chap. 23.

*The lamentable death of King Fulk.*

WHEN Fulco had now eleven yeares with much industry and care (though with little enlarging of his dominions) governed the land, he was slain in earnest as following his sport in hunting, to the great grief of his subjects. And we may heare him thus speaking his Epitaph:

*I have I hunted, and death hunted me;  
The more my speed was, was the worse my speed:*

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1142

Tyrius, lib.  
15. cap. ult.

*For as well-mourned I away did flee,  
Death caught and kill'd me falling from my speed.  
Yet thou mishap an happy misse I count,  
That fell from horse that I to heaven might mount.*

*Assa  
Dom.  
W*

A Prince of a sweet nature; and though one would have read him to be very furious by his high-coloured countenance, yet his face was a good hypocrite; and (*contra leges istius coloris*, saith \* Tyrius) he was affable, courteous, and pitifull to all in distresse. He was buried with his predeceffours in the temple of the Sepulchre, leaving two sonnes, Baldwin who was 13, and Almerick 7 yeares old.

\* Lib. 14.  
cap. 1.

### Chap. 24.

#### *The disposition of Baldwin the third; The care of Queen Millefant in her sonnes minority.*

Baldwine succeeded his father, who quickly grew up, as to 1243  
age, so in all royall accomplishments, and became a most complete Prince; well learned, especially in historie; liberall, very witty, and very pleasant in discourse: He would often give a smart jest, which would make the place both blisfull and bleed where it lighted: Yet this was the better taken at his hands, because he cherished not a cowardly wit in himself, to wound men behind their backs, but played on them freely to their faces; yea, and never refused the coin he payed them in, but would be contented (though a King) to be the subject of a good jest: and \* sometimes he was well-favouredly met with as the best fencer in wits school hath now and then an unhappy blow dealt him. Some thought he descended beneath himself in too much familiarity to his subjects; for he would commonly call and salute mean persons by their names: But the vulgar sort, in whose judgements the lowest standards are ever the greatest, conceived him to surpasse all his predeceffours, because he was so fellow-like with them.

But whilest yet he was in minority, his mother Millefant made up his want of age with her abundant care, being governour of all: A woman in sex, but of a masculine spirit: She continued a widow: and as for childrens sake she married once; so for her childrens sake she married no more. \* S. Bernard and the spake often together by letters: He extolled her single life, How it was more honour to live a widow, then to be a Queen:

\* This she had by birth, that by Gods bounty: This she was happily

\* Tyrius, lib.  
16. cap. 1.

\* Epist. 106.  
col. 1569.  
\* Illud tibi  
ex genere,  
istud ex mu-  
nere Dei; il-  
lud feliciter  
nata es, hoc  
viriliter ma-  
rita, Epist.  
289. col. 1612

*Anno  
Dom.  
W*

happily begotten, that she had manfully gotten of her self. Yet we find not that she made a vow never to marry again; wherein she did the wiser: For the chafteft minds cannot conclude from the present calm, that there will never after arise any lustfull storm in their souls. Besides, a Resolution is a free custody; but a Vow is a kind of prison, which restrained nature hath the more desire to break.

### Chap. 25.

#### *Of Fulcher Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the insolencie of the Hospitallers against him.*

VVilliam, who was last possessed of the Patriarchs chair in Jerusalem, was none of the greatest clerks. But whatsoever he was for edifying of the Church, he was excellent at building of Castles (one at Askelon, another at Ramula, a third called Blank-guard for the securing of Pilgrimes) till at last having sat in his place fifteen yeares, he was translated to heaven, and on earth Fulcher Archbishop of Tyre succeeded him. 1145.  
An honest old man, whose weak age was much molested with the pride and rebellion of the Hospitallers, who lately had procured from the Pope a plenary exemption from the Patriarch. This his Holiness did the more willingly grant, because hereby he made himself absolute master of all orders, pinning them on himself by an immediate dependance, and so bringing water to his mill by a straighter and nearer stream. But hereby the entireness of Episcopall jurisdiction was much maimed and mangled, and every Covent was a castle of rebels, armed with privileges to fight against their lawfull Diocesan.

Now as these Hospitallers wronged the power of the Bishops, so did they rob the profit of poore Priests, refusing to pay any tithes of their Mannours, which contained many parishes (so that the Pastours who fed the flocks, were starved themselves; and having laboured all day in the vineyard, were at night sent supperlesse to bed) the Hospitallers pleading that the Pope had freed them from these duties; as if an acquittance under the hand of his Holiness was sufficient to discharge them from paying of tithes, a debt due to God. Other foul crimes they also were guilty of: as, outbraving the temple of the Sepulchre with their stately buildings; giving the Sacraments to, and receiving of excommunicate persons; ringing their bells when their Patriarch preached, that his voice might not be heard;

76  
\* Tyrinus lib.  
18. cap. 3.

heard; shooting \* arrows into the church to disturb him and the people in Divine service; A bundle whereof were hung up as a monument of their impiety.

Fulcher the Patriarch crawled to Rome, being 100 yeares old, to complain of these misdemeanours; carrying with him the Archbishop of Tyre, and five other Bishops. But he had sped better, if in stead of every one of them he had carried a bag of gold. For the Hospitallers prevented him, and had formerly been effectually present with their large bribes; so that the Patriarchs suit was very cold: And no wonder, seeing he did afford no fuel to heat it. The Cardinals eyes in the court of Rome were old and dimme; and therefore the glasse wherein they see any thing must be well-silvered. Indeed two of them, Octavian, and John of S. Martin, favoured Christs cause and his Ministers; but \* all the rest followed gifts, and the way of Balaam the sonne of Bosor. But here \* Baronius, who hitherto had leaned on Tyrinus his authority, now starteth from it: And no wonder, for his penne will seldome cast ink, when he meeteth with the corruption of the Romish court. But sure it was, that the good Patriarch wearied with delays, returned back with his grievances unredressed. Whereupon the Hospitallers grew more insolent, and under pretense of being freed from fetters, would wear no girdle; denying not onely subjection, but any filiall obedience to a superiour.

\* Alii omnes  
abeunt post  
munera, sicuti  
sunt vias Bi-  
laam filii Bo-  
sor, Tyrinus,  
lib. 18. cap. 8.  
\* Annal. ec-  
cles. in anno  
1155.

Anno  
Dom.  
1156.

## Chap. 26.

### *Of Almericus Patriarch of Antioch his instituting of Carmelites; Their differing from the pattern of Elias.*

After the tragicall life and death of Rodolphus Patriarch of Antioch, who was twelve yeares Patriarch, counting his banishment, Haymericus by the contrary faction and power of Prince Reimund succeeded him, with little quiet and comfort of his place.

And here to our grief must we take our finall farewell of the distinct succession of the Patriarchs of Antioch, with the yeares that they sat; such is the obscurity and confusion in it. Yet no doubt this \* Haymericus was the same with Almericus, who about the yeare 1160 first instituted the order of Carmelites. Indeed formerly they lived dispersed about the mountain of Carmel: but he gathered them together into one house, because

solitarineffe

\* Compare  
Baronius  
with himself  
in these  
yeares, 1143,  
1154, 1181,  
and we shall  
find Hayme-  
ricus and Al-  
mericus the  
same.

1142.

Anno  
Dom.  
1156.

solitarineffe is a trespassse against the nature of man, and God when he had made all things good, saw it was not good for man to be alone.

Surely from great antiquity in the Primitive Church, many retired themselves to solitary places (where they were alwayes alone, and alwayes in the company of good thoughts) chiefly to shade themselves from the heat of persecution. Whose example was in after-ages imitated by others, when there was no such necessity: As here by these Carmelites, whose order was afterwards perfected in the yeare 1216, by Albert Patriarch of Jerusalem, with certain Canonically observations imposed upon them. And in this next age, these bees, which first bred in the ground and hollow trees, got them hives in gardens; and leaving the deserts, gained them princely houses in pleasant places. They pretended indeed that they followed the pattern of Elias, though farre enough from his example: First, for their habit; they wore \* white coats guarded with red streaks: but they have no colour in the Bible that Elias ever wore such a livery; it suits rather with Joseph then with him. Secondly, by their order they were to ride on he-asses; whereas we read that Elias went on foot, and rode but once in a chariot of fire. Thirdly, they by the constitution of Pope Nicolas the 5. had \* sisters of their company living neare unto them; we find Elias to have no such feminine consorts. Fourthly, they lived in all lust and lazineffe; as \* Nicolas Gallus their own Generall did complain, that they were Sodomites, and compareth them to the tail of the Dragon: so that their luxury differed from Elias his austerity, as much as velvet from sackcloth. Wherefore that the Carmelites came from mount Carmel cannot be denied: But on that mountain I find that both Elias and Baals priests gathered together; and let the indifferent reader judge which of them their lives do most resemble.

Afterwards Pope Honorius 3. counting the party-coloured coats these Carmelites did wear to be too gaudy, caused them to wear onely white, the colour which nature doth die simple, and therefore fittest for religion. But Melexala King of Egypt, who formerly was very bountifull to the Carmelites, knew not his Alms-men in their new coats, but changed his love, as they their livery, and persecuted them out of all Egypt. It seemeth afterwards, by the complaint of \* Mantuan, that they wore some black again over their white: For he playeth on them, as if their bad manners had blacked and altered their clothes.

Now though Palestine was their mother, England was their best nurse. Ralph Fresburg, about the yeare 1240, first brought them hither; and they were first seated at Newenden

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Polyd. Virg.  
lib. 7. cap. 3.  
Sabel. Enu. 9.  
lib. 5.  
Huspin De  
orig. mon.

\* Antonius,  
lib. 20. cap. 5.

\* Balaam in  
vita Nicol. 5.

\* Vide Bala-  
am, centur. 4.  
cap. 42. in ap-  
pend. 2.

\* Eclog. 2.  
immucant  
murci vellera  
mores.

in

78  
\*Yer. Camden  
such they  
were first  
seated in  
Northumber-  
land.  
\*Pulsus, in  
indice Carm.

in \* Kent. An\* hundred and fourty English writers have been of this order. And here they flourished in great pomp, till at last King Henry the 8. as they came out of the wildernesse, so turned their houses into a wildernesse; not onely breaking the necks of all Abbeyes in England, but also scattering abroad their very bones, past possibility of recounting them.

Anno  
Dom.  
W

Chap. 27.

*Edeffa lost; The hopefull voyage of Conrade the Emperour and Lewis King of France to the Holy land, blasted by the perfidiousnesse of Emmanuel the Grecian Emperour.*

Empires have their set bounds, whither when they come, they stand still, go back, fall down: This we may see in the kingdome of Jerusalem; which under Godfrey and the two first Baldwines was a gainer, under Fulk a faver, under the succeeding Kings a constant loser till all was gone. For now Sanguin Prince of the Turks (as bloody as his name) wrested from the Christians the country and city of Edeffa, one of the foure Tetrarchies of the kingdome of Jerusalem. And though Sanguin shortly after was stabbed at a feast, yet Noradine his sonne succeeded, and exceeded him in cruelty against the Christians.

The losse of Edeffa (wherein \* our religion had flourished ever since the Apostles time) moved Conrade Emperour of the West, and Lewis the 7. surnamed the Young King of France, to undertake a voyage to the Holy land. Pope Eugenius the 3. bestirred himself in the matter, and made S. Bernard his soliciter to advance the designe. For never could so much steel have been drawn into the east, had not this good mans perswasion been the loadstone. The Emperours army contained two hundred thousand foot, besides fifty thousand horse: Nor was the army of King Lewis much inferiour in number. In France they sent a \* distaff and a spindle to all those able men that went not with them, as upbraiding their effeminate nesse: And no wonder, when women themselves went in armour, (having a brave lassie like another Penthesilea for their leader, so befringed with gold, that they called her \* Golden-foot) riding astride like men; which I should count more strange, but that I find all women in England in the same posture on their horses, till \* Anna, wife to King Richard the second, some 200 yeares since, taught them

\* Christiano  
nomina à  
temporibus  
Apostolorum  
devota, Ty-  
rius, lib. 16.  
cap. 5.

\* P. Amylin  
L. 1. 10. 7.

\* Nicetas, in  
Emm. (omn.  
Z. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.  
Camd. Bri-  
tannia Surrey.

1147

Anno  
Dom.  
W

them a more modest behaviour. The Turks did quake hearing of these preparations, which to them were reported farre greater then they were; fame (contrary to all other painters) making those things the greatest which are presented the farthest off.

Conrade with his army took his way through Grecia: where Emmanuel the Emperour, possessed with an hereditary fear of the Latines, fortified his cities in the way, as knowing there needed strong banks where such a stream of people was to passe. And suspecting that if these Pilgrimes often made his Empire their high-way into Palestine, little grasse would grow in sctroden a path, and his country thereby be much endamaged; he used them most treacherously, giving them bad welcome that he might no more have such guests. To increase their miseries, as the Dutch encamped by the river \* Melas (if that may be called a river which is all mud in summer, all sea in winter) deserving his name from this black and dismal accident, it drowned many with its sudden overflowings; as if it had conspired with the Grecians, and learned treachery from them. They that survived this sudden mishap, were relieved for lingering misery. For the Grecian Emperour did them all possible mischief, by mingling lime with their meal, by killing of stragglers, by holding intelligence with the Turks their enemies, by corrupting his coyns, making his silver as base as himself (so that the Dutch sold good wares for bad money, and bought bad wares with good money) by giving them false Conductours which trained them into danger; so that there was more fear of the guides then of the way. All which his unfaithfull dealings are recorded by that faithfull historian \* Nicetas Chonlates, who though a Grecian born, affirmeth these things; the truth of his love to his country-men no whit prejudicing his love to the truth.

\* Nicetas, ut  
prieus.

\* In vita  
Manuel.  
(omn. lib. 1.  
9. 5.

Chap. 28.

*The Turks conquered at Meander; The Dutch and French arrive in Palestine.*

Scarce had the Dutch escaped the treachery of the Greeks, when they were encountred with the hostility of the Turks, who waited for them on the other side of Meander. The river was not so fordable, ship or bridge the Christians had none: when behold Conrade the Emperour adventured on an action, which because it was successfull, shall be accounted valiant; otherwise

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\* Knolls,  
Turk. hist.  
pag. 33.  
\* Nicetas in  
Men. Comm.  
lib. 1. §. 6.

\* Liv. lib. 2.

\* Munst. Cos-  
mog. lib. 2.  
pag. 227.

\* Serres,  
(translated  
by Grimston)  
in vita Lu-  
dov. 7. &  
P. Emylin,  
in ejusdem  
vita.

we should term it desperate. After an \* exhortation to his army, he commanded them all at once to flownc into the river. Meander was plunged by their plunging into it: his water stood \* amazed, as unresolved whether to retreat to the fountain, or proceed to the sea, and in this extasie afforded them a dry passage over the stream. An æt; which like that of Horatius Cocles his leaping into Tiber, \* plus fama ad posteros habiturum quam fidei, will find more admirers then beleivers with posterity. The affrighted Turks on the other side, thinking there was no contending with them that did teach nature it self obedience, offered their throats to the Christians swords, and were killed in such number, that whole piles of dead bones remain there for a monument: like those heaps of the Cimbrians slain by Marius neare Marfeils, where afterwards the inhabitants walled their vineyards with skulls, and guarded their \* grapes with dead men. Hence Conrade made forward to Iconium, now called Cogni, which he besieged in vain, to the great losse of his army.

The King of France followed after with great multitudes, and drank of the same cup at the Grecians hands, though not so deeply: till at last, finding that those who marched through the continent met with an ocean of miserie, he thought better to trust the wind and sea then the Greeks; and taking shipping safely arrived in Palestine, where he was highly welcomed by Reimund Prince of Antioch. Some weeks were spent in complying, entertainments, and visiting holy places; till at last, E-lianor wife to the King of France, who accompanied her husband, made religion her pander, and played \* bankrupt of her honour; under pretense of pilgrimage, keeping company with a base Saracen jester, whom she preferred before a King. Thus love may blindfold the eyes, but lust boreth them out. Yea, now she pleaded that she might be no longer wife to the King, because she was too neare unto him within the degrees forbidden. This new-started scruple never troubled her before: but some have fluces in their consciences, and can keep them open or shut them as occasion requireth.

Chap.

Anno  
Dom.  
1148

*Damascus besieged in vain; The return of the Emperour and King; with the censure on this voyage.*

THE late-come Pilgrimes having sufficiently recreated themselves, the Emperour and the King of France concluded to besiege Damascus: for a small town was conceived too narrow an object of their valour, whilst so eminent an action was adequate to the undertakers. Damascus is so pleasant a citie, that Mahomet durst never enter into it, lest this deceiver should be deceived himself, and be so ravished with the pleasures of the place, that he should forget to go on in that great work he had in hand. Some make Eliezer Abrahams steward builder of this citie, because he is called Eliezer of Damascus; though that phrase speaketh him rather to have had his birth or dwelling there, then the citie her building from him. To passe this by, because as the foundations are hidden in the ground, so the founders of most ancient places are forgotten. It was for many yeares after the Metropolis of Syria, and was now straitly besieged by the Christians with great hope of successe, had they not afterwards fallen out amongst themselves who should eat the chickens before they were hatched. Conrade and King Lewis destined the city to Theodorick Earl of Flanders, lately arrived in those parts; whilst other Princes which had been long resident in Palestine, and born the heat of the warre, grudged hereat: and their stomachs could not digest the cruditie of a raw upstart to be preferred before them. Yea, some of the Christians corrupted with Turkish money (though when they received it, it proved but \* gilded brasse; may all traitours be payed in such coin) perswaded the King of France to remove his camp to a stronger part of the walls: which they long besieged in vain, and returned home at last, leaving the city and their honours behind them.

The French proverb was verified of this voyage, Much bruit and little fruit. They not onely did no good in the Holy land (\* save that some think their coming advantaged King Baldwine for the taking of the citie of Askelon) but also did much harm. For now the Turks seeing one citie both bear the brunt and batter the strength of both armies, began to conceive that their own fear was their greatest enemy; and those swords of these new Pilgrimes which they dreaded in the sheath, they sleighted when they saw them drawn; and shook off that aw

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\* Theodor. 2  
Niein, De pri-  
vilegiis Impe-  
rii, cap. de  
Conrado 4.

\* Sabellicus.



which had formerly possessed them, of the strength of the Western Emperour. Many thousand Christians perished in this adventure, whose souls are pronounced by all the writers of this age to be carried up into heaven on the wings of the holy cause they died for: Whose blessed estate I will not disprove; nor will I listen to the unhappy Dutch proverb. \* He that bringeth himself into needlesse dangers, dieth the devils martyr.

Anno Dom. 1140.

\* Cited by Luther, on Gen. 3.

We must not forget how the French King coming homeward was taken prisoner by the fleet of the Grecian Emperour, and rescued again by Gregory Admirall to Roger King of Sicilie. When he was safely arrived in France, in open Parliament his wife was divorced from him. Her nearness in blood was the onely cause specified; and the King took no notice of her inconstancy, accounting those but foolish husbands who needlessly proclaim their wives dishonesty. He gave her back again all the lands in France which he had received with her in portion: scorning her wealth which neglected his love. Herein he did nobly, but not politickly, to part with the Dukedomes of Poictou and Aquitain, which he enjoyed in her right: for he brake his own garland by giving her her flowers back again; mangled and dismembred his own kingdome, and gave a \* torch into Henry King of England his hands (who afterwards married her) to set France on fire.

\* Serres, in Ludov. 7.

### Chap. 30.

*An apologie for S. Bernard, whom the vulgar sort condemned for the murderer of those that went this voyage.*

Slander (quicker then Martiall law) arraigneth, condemneth, and executeth all in an instant. This we may see in poore S. Bernard, who was the mark for every mans tongue to shoot arrows against: and when this voyage had miscarried, many \* condemned him, because his persuasion set this project not onely on foot but on wings; as if he had thrust so many men, as one morsel, into the jaws of death.

\* Goffridus, in vita bern. lib. 3. cap. 4.

But much may be alledged truly to excuse this good man:

First, he was but an instrument employed by Pope Eugenius and a \* Provincial Council of French Bishops to forward the designe. Rather then should they have blamed his Holiness who set him on work: But the saddle oftentimes is not set on the right horse, because his back is too high to be reached; and

\* Baron. anal. Eccl. in anno 1140. In istius operi sibi commissio ab Eugenio.

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Anno Dom. 1140.

we see commonly that the instruments are made skreens to save the face of the principall from scorching.

Secondly, the true cause of the ill successe was the viciousness of the undertakers. For Germany at this time surfered of lewd people; and those grew the fastest which lived on the high-ways. But this voyage robbed the whole countrey of her \* theeves; and then no wonder if they found their death in Asia, who deserved it in Europe. Heare what \* Otho Frisingensis, who went this voyage, speaketh impartially in the matter: " If we should say that Bernard that holy Abbot was inspired " by Gods Spirit to incite us to this warre, but we through our " pride and wantonnesse not observing his holy commands " deservedly brought on our selves the losse of our goods and " lives, we should say nothing but what is agreeable to reason, " and to ancient examples. However, it was an heavy affliction to S. Bernards aged back to bear the reproch of many people: it being a great grief for one to be generally condemned as guilty, for want of proof of his innocency. And though God set his hand to S. Bernards testimoniall by the many \* miracles which that Father wrought, yet still some challenged him for a counterfeit.

\* Germania tunc latrociniis frequens purgatur eo genere hominum, Kranitz. 6. Sax. cap. 13. \* In vita Fred. lib. 1. cap. 6. in fine.

\* Goffrid. ut prius.

And surely this humiliation was both wholesome and necessary for him. For the people, who cannot love without doting, nor approve without admiring, were too much transported with an high opinion of this man and his directions; as if that arrow could not misse the mark which came out of S. Bernards bow. Wherefore this miscarriage came very seasonably to abate their over-towring conceits of him; and perchance his own of himself. And no doubt he made a good use of this bad accident. The lesse his fame blazed, the more his devotion burned; and the cutting off of his top, made him take deep root, and to be made more truly humbled and sanctified. In his book of \* Consideration he maketh a modest defense of himself; whither we referre the reader. To conclude; The devotion of this man was out of question for neglecting this world, that he even did spit out that preferment which was dropped into his mouth: But as for his judgement, it was not alwayes the best; which gave occasion to the proverb, *Bernardus non vidit omnia.*

\* Lib. 2. cap. 1.



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\* Baron. annal. Eccl. in anno 1140. Insistens operi sibi commissio ab Eugenio.

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Anno Dom. W

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\* Lib. 2. cap. 1.

*Unseasonable discords betwixt King Baldwin  
and his mother; Her strength in yeelding to her  
sonne.*

\* Tyrius, lib.  
17. cap. 13.

UPon the departure of Emperour Conrade and King Lewis,  
Noradine the Turk much prevailed in Palestine. Nor was  
he little advantaged by the discords betwixt Millesent Queen-  
mother and the Nobility; thus occasioned: There was a No-  
ble-man called Manasses, whom the Queen (governing all in  
her sonnes minority) made Constable of the kingdome. This  
man unable to manage his own happinesse, grew so insolent that  
he could not go, but either spurning his equals, or trampling on  
his inferiours. No wonder then, if envy the shadow of great-  
nesse waited upon him. The \* Nobility highly distasted him:  
but in all oppositions the Queens favour was his sanctuary;  
who to shew her own absolutenesse, and that her affection should  
not be controlled, nor that thrown down which she set up, still  
preserved the creature she had made.

1149

His enemies perceiving him so fast rooted in her favour, and  
seeing they could not remove him from his foundation, sought  
to remove him with his foundation; instigating young King  
Baldwine against his mother, and especially against her fa-  
vourite. They complained how the State groined under his in-  
solency; He was the bridge by which all offices must passe,  
and there pay toll; He alone sifted all matters, and then no  
wonder if much bran passed; He under pretense of opening the  
Queens eyes did lead her by the nose, captivating her judge-  
ment in stead of directing it; He like a by-gulf devoured her af-  
fection, which should flow to her children. They perswaded the  
King he was ripe for government, and needed none to hold his  
hand to hold the sceptre. Let him therefore either untie or cut  
himself loose from this slavery, and not be in subjection to a  
subject.

Liberty needeth no hard pressing on youth, a touch on that  
stamp maketh an impression on that waxen age. Young Bal-  
dwine is apprehensive of this motion, and prosecuteth the matter  
so eagerly, that at length he coopeth up this Manasses in a  
castle, and forceth him to abjure the kingdome. Much stirre af-  
terwards was betwixt him and his mother; till at last to end di-  
visions, the kingdome was divided betwixt them: She had the  
city of Jerusalem, and the land-locked part; he the maritime  
half of the land. But the widest throne is too narrow for two to  
sit

sit on together. He not content with this partition, marcheth fu-  
riously to Jerusalem, there to besiege his mother, and to take all  
from her. Out of the citie cometh \* Fulcher the good Patriarch,  
(his age was a patent for his boldnesse) and freely reproveth the  
King: Why should he go on in such an action wherein every  
step he stirred, his legs must needs grate and crash both against  
nature and religion? Did he thus requite his mothers care in  
stewarding the State, thus to affright her age, to take arms  
against her? Was it not her goodnesse to be content with a  
moyety, when the whole kingdome in right belonged unto her?

\* Tyrius, lib.  
17. cap. 14.

But ambition had so enchanted Baldwin, that he was pene-  
trable with no reasons which crossed his designs: so that by  
theadvice of her friends she was content to religne up all, lest  
the Christian cause should suffer in these dissensions. She retired  
her self to \* Sebaste, and abridged her train from State to ne-  
cessity. And now the lesse room she had to build upon, the higher  
she raised her soul with heavenly meditations; and lived as  
more private, so more pious till the day of her death.

\* Idem, ibi-  
dem.

Chap. 32.

*Reimund Prince of Antioch overcome and kil-  
led; Askelon taken by the Christians; The  
death of King Baldwin.*

THEse discords betwixt mother and sonne were harmonie in  
the eares of Noradine the Turk: Who coming with a great  
army wasted all about Antioch; and Prince Reimund going  
out to bid him battel, was slain himself, and his army over-  
thrown: nor long after Joceline Count of Edessa was intercept-  
ed by the Turks, and taken prisoner.

1153

As for Constantia the relict of Reimund Prince of Antioch,  
she lived a good while a widow, refusing the affections which  
many princely suiters proffered unto her, till at last she descend-  
ed beneath her self to marry a plain man, Reinold of Castile.  
Yet why should we say so, when as a Castilian Gentleman (if  
that not a needlesse tautologie) as he maketh the inventory of  
his own worth, prizeth himself any Princes fellow: And the  
proverb is, *Each lay-man of Castile may make a King*, each  
clergie-man a Pope? Yea, we had best take heed how we speak  
against this match: for Almericus Patriarch of Antioch for in-  
veighing against it, was by this Prince Reinold set in the heat of  
the sunne with his \* bare head besmeared with hony (a sweet-  
bitter

\* Tyrius, lib.  
18. cap. 1.

bitter torment) that so bees might sting him to death. But King Baldwine mediated for him, and obtained his liberty that he might come to Jerusalem: where he lived many yeares in good esteem. And Gods judgements are said to have overtaken the Prince of Antioch: for besides the famine which followed in his countrey, he himself afterwards fighting unfortunately with the Turks, was taken prisoner.

But let us step over to Jerusalem; where we shall find King Baldwine making preparation for the siege of Askelon: Which citie after it had long been blocked up, had at last an assaultable breach made in the walls thereof. The Templars (to whom the King promised the spoil if they took it) entred through this breach into the citie: and conceiving they had enow to wield the work and master the place, set a guard at the breach, that no more of their fellow Christians should come in to be sharers with them in the booty. But their covetousnesse cost them their lives: for the Turks concerning their few number put them every one to the sword. Yet at last the citie was taken, though with much difficulty.

Other considerable victories Baldwine got of the Turks; especially one at the river Jordan, where he vanquished Noradine: And twice he relieved Cesarea-Philippi, which the Turks had straitly besieged. But death at last put a period to his earthly happinesse, being poisoned (as it was supposed) by a Jewish phyfician; for the rest of the potion killed a dog to whom it was given. This Kings youth was stained with unnaturall discords with his mother, and other vices, which in his settled age he reformed. Let the witsse of Noradine his enemy be beleaved; who honourably refused to invade the kingdom whilest the funerall solemnities of Baldwine were performing; and professed the Christians had a just cause of sorrow, \* having lost such a King, whose equall for justice and valour the world did not afford. He died without issue, having reigned one and twenty yeares. So that sure it is the Printers mistake in Tyrius, where he hath foure and twenty yeares assigned him, more then the consent of time will allow.

\* Tyrius, lib. 17. cap. 27.

\* Tyrius, lib. 19. cap. 34.

Anno Dom. 1154

Aug. 12.

1163

### Chap. 33.

#### *King Almerick his disposition.*

Almerick brother to King Baldwine, Earl of Joppa and Askelon, succeeded to the Crown. But before his coronation he was enjoyned by the Popes Legate and by the Patriarch of Jerusalem,

1163 Febr. 18.

Anno Dom. 1154

Jerusalem, to dismisse Agnes his wife, daughter to Joceline the younger, Count of Edessa, because she was his cousin in the fourth degree; with this reservation, that the two children he had by her, Baldwine and Sibyll, should be accounted legitimate, and capable of their fathers possessions. A Prince of excellent parts, of a most happy \* memory, (wherein also his brother Baldwine was eminent, though Fulk their father was wonderfully forgetfull; so true is the maxime, *Purè personalia non propagantur*, Parents entail neither their personall defects nor perfections on their posterity) solid judgement, quick apprehension; but of a bad utterance, which made him use words onely as a shield when he was urged and pressed to speak, otherwise he preferred to be silent, and declined popularity more then his brother Baldwine affected it. Very thrifty he was; and though \* Tully saith, *Dici hominem frugi non multum habet laudis in rege*, yet moderate frugality is both laudable and necessary in a King. But our Almerick went somewhat too farre, and was a little poore in admiring of riches, laying great taxations on the holy places to their utter impoverishing: Yet was he not mastered by his purse, but made it his vassall, and spared no money on a just occasion. He never received accusation against any of his officers, and never reckoned with them (count it as you please, carelesnesse or noble confidence) because he would not teach them to be dishonest by suspecting them. Nor is it the last and least part of his praise; that William Archbishop of Tyre (so often mentioned) wrote the Holy warre at his instance. Once he angered the good Archbishop with this question, \* How the resurrection of the body may be proved by reason? Hereat the good Prelate was much displeased, as counting it a dangerous question wherewith one removeth a foundation-stone in Divinity, though with intent to lay it in the place again. But the King presently protested, That he demanded it not out of any diffidence in himself about that article, but in case one should meet with a sturdy man, who (as too many now-a-dayes) would not trust faith on her single bond, except he have reason joyned for security with her. Hereupon the Archbishop alledged many strong arguments to prove it, and both rested well satisfied.

\* Tyrius, lib. 19. cap. 2.

\* In Orat. pro Deiotaro.

\* Tyrius, lib. 19. cap. 3.

### Chap.

Chap. 34.

*Ecclesiasticall businesse; A Sultan of Iconium, and the master of the Assassines desired to be christened; The Common-wealth of the Assassines described.*

IN the Church of Jerusalem we find Amalrick still Patriarch: A Frenchman born, but little fit for the place to which he was preferred by the favour of Sibyll, Countesse of Flanders, the Kings sister. Mean time the Church needed a Salick law, to forbid distaffs to meddle with mitres; and neither to be, nor to make Patriarchs.

But the most remarkable Church-matter in this Kings reigne, was the clandestine christening of a Sultan of Iconium. And more of his courtiers might have followed him, but that his Embassadors being at Rome, were offended there with the viciousness of Christians lives; which made them to exclaim,

\* How can fresh and salt water flow from the same fountain? This hath made many Pagans step back, which had one foot in our Church, when they have seen Christians believe so well, and live so ill; breaking the Commandments against the Creed.

Not long after, the great master of the Assassines was really disposed to receive our religion; and to this end sent an Embassador to King Almerick, which Embassador was treacherously slain by one of the Templars. The \* King demanded this murderer of the master of the Templars, that justice might passe upon him. But the master proudly answered, That he had already enjoined him penance, and had directed to send him to the Pope, but stoutly refused to surrender him to the King. This cruel murder embittered the Assassines more desperately against the Christians.

These Assassines were a precise sect of Mahometans, and had in them the very spirits of that poisonous superstition. They had some six cities, and were about forty thousand in number, living neare Antaradus in Syria. Over these was a chief master, (Hell it self cannot subsist without a Beelzebub: so much order there is in the place of confusion,) whom they called \* The Old man of the mountains. At his command they would refuse no pain or peril, but stab any Prince whom he appointed out to death; scorning not to find hands for his tongue, to perform what he enjoined. At this day there are none of them extant, (except revived by the Jesuites; for sure Ignatius Loyola, the

Anno Dom. 1169.

1169.

1173.

Baron in anno 1169.

\* M. Paris, in anno 1169.

\* Tyrus, lib. 10. cap. 32.

\* M. Paris, anno 1147. P. E. nyl. in Ludov. jun.

Anno Dom. 1165.

the lame father of blind obedience fetched his platform hence) being all, as it seems, slain by the \* Tartarians, Anno 1257. But no tears need be shed at their funeralles: yea, pity it is that any pity should be lavished upon them, whose whole government was an engine built against humane society, worthy to be fired by all men; the body of their State being a very monstrous, and a grievance of mankind.

\* M. Paris, (ant. ejus) (originator) in anno 1257

Chap. 35.

*Dargan and Sanar two Egyptian Lords, contending about the Sultanie, Sanar calleth in the Turks to help him. Of the danger of mercenary souldiers; yet how well qualified, they may be serviceable.*

EGYPT was the stage whereon the most remarkable passages in the reigne of King Almerick were acted. It will be necessary therefore to premise somewhat concerning the estate of that kingdome at this time. Whilest the Turks thus lorded it in Syria and the lesser Asia, the Saracen Caliph commanded in Egypt; under whom, two great Lords, Dargan and Sanar, fell out about the Sultanie or Vice-royship of that land. But Sanar fearing he should be worsted by Dargan, sued to Noradine King of the Turks at Damascus for aid: who sent him an army of Turks, under the command of Syracon an experienced Captain, against Sultan Dargan. So Dargan and Sanar met and fought. The victory was Dargans, but he enjoyed it not long, being shortly after slain by treachery; whereby Sanar recovered the Sultans place. Mean time how strange was the voluptuous lethargie of the Caliph Elhadach, to pursue his private pleasures, whilest his Vice-royes thus fought under his nose, and employed foreign succours, yet he never regarded it; as if the tottering of his kingdome had rocked him fast asleep.

Nor was he moved with that which followed, and more nearly concerned him. For Syracon the Turkish Captain, whom Sanar had gotten to come into Egypt, would not be intreated to go home again; but seized on the city of Belbis, fortified it, and there attended the arrivall of more Turks from Damascus, for the conquest of Egypt. Which afterwards they performed, the land being never completely cleared of them, till at last they conquered the whole kingdome, partly under this Syracon,

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racon,

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racon, and wholly under Saladine his nephew.

And here my discourse (by the leave of the reader) must a little fall forth to treat of the danger of entertaining mercenary souldiers. They may perchance be called in with a whistle, but scarce cast out with a whip. If they be slugs, they indanger a State by their slothfulnesse; if spirited men, by their activity. Cesar Borgia, Machiavells idol, whose practice he maketh the pattern of policie, saith, \* That he had rather be conquered with his own men, then be conquerour with an army of others; because he counted that conquest to be none at all.

\* Mach.  
Prince, cap. 9.  
Se mille vir-  
ci suis armis  
quàm alienis  
victorem esse.

Yet good physick may be made of poyson well corrected: They may sometimes be necessary evils; yea, good and serviceable to defend a land, if thus qualified: First, if they have no command of castles, or place neare about the Princes person: for then they have a compendious way to treason, if they intend it. Secondly, if they be not entertained in too great numbers, but in such refracted degrees, that the natives may still have the predominancie: for a surfeit of forrein supplies is a disease incurable. Thirdly, if the Prince who imployeth them, hath their wives, children, and estates in his own hands; which will be both a caution and pawn for their fidelity, and will also interest their affections more cordially in the cause. Lastly, if they be of the same religion with them, and fight against the enemy of the religion of both: for then they are not purely hirelings, but parties in part, and the cause doth at least mediate concern them. I beleeve that it will scarcely be shown, that the Protestants have turned tails and betrayed them they came to assist.

We may observe, the Low-countrys have best thrived by setting this trade of journey-men-souldiers on work. Let them thank God and the good English: for if Francis Duke of Anjou with his Frenchmen had well succeeded, no doubt he would have spread his bread with their butter. Next them the Venetians have sped best: for they have the trick, when they find it equally dangerous to casheer their mercenary Generall or to entertain him any longer, fairly to kill him; as they served \* Carmignola. England hath best thrived without them: under Gods protection we stand on our own legs. The last I find are an handfull of Almains used against \* Kett in Norfolk in the dayes of King Edward the sixth. And let it be our prayers, That as for those hirelings which are to be last tried and least trusted, we never have want of their help, and never have too much of it.

\* Mach.  
Prince, cap. 8.  
\* Speed,  
Edward 6.

Anno  
Dom.  
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Chap.

Chap. 36.

91

*Sanar imploreth the aid of King Almerick; A solemn agreement made betwixt them, and ratified by the magnificent Caliph.*

1166

Aug.  
10.

Sultan Sanar perceiving himself pressed and overlaid by these Turks, who with Syracon their Captain refused to return, and of assistants turned invaders, borrowed the help of Almerick King of Jerusalem to avoid them out of Egypt. Whilest Almerick marched thither, an unfortunate battel was fought betwixt Boemund the third of that name Prince of Antioch, Reimund Count of Tripoli, Calaman Grecian governour of Cilicia, and Joceline the third the titular Count of Edeffa, on the one side; and Noradine King of the Turks, on the other. The Turks got the victory, and these foure Christian Princes were taken prisoners; and their army lost so much good blood that day, that cast it into an irrecoverable consumption, and hastened the ruine of this kingdome. Noradine following his blow, wonne Cesarea-Philippi.

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18.

Nevertheless Almerick went on effectually in Egypt, and for a time expelled the Turks out of this land. But Syracon would not so quickly quit the countrey; but goeth to the Caliph of Babylon (who was opposite to him of Egypt, each of them claiming as heir to Mahomer that false prophet, the soveraignty over all that were of the Saracen law) & offereth him his means for the extirpation of this schismaticall Caliph, and the reduction of all Egypt to the subjection of the Babylonian. The motion was joyfully entertained, and Syracon with a mighty power descendeth into Egypt.

Sanar affrighted hereat maketh new and larger proffers to King Almerick to stop this deluge of his enemies, and proffereth him a pension of forty thousand ducats yearly for his behoofull assistance. But the King understanding that the Sultan (how much soever he took upon him) was subject to a higher Lord, would make no such bargain with him, but with the Caliph himself; and therefore sent his Embassadours, \* Hugh Earl of Cesarea, and a Knight-Templar, along with the Sultan to Caliph Elhadach then resident at Cairo. Arriving at his palace, they passed through dark passages well guarded with armed Ethiopians. Hence they were conducted into goodly open \* courts of such beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of Embassadours, but were enforced to admire the rarities they beheld. The farther they went, the greater the

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state;

\* Tynius, lib.  
19. cap. 16.

\* Idem, cap.  
18.

state; till at last they were brought to the Caliphs own lodging. Where entering the presence, the Sultan thrice prostrated himself to the ground before the curtain behind which the Caliph sat. Presently the traverse wrought with pearls was opened, and the Caliph himself discovered, sitting with great majesty on a throne of gold, having few of his most inward eunuchs about him.

The Sultan humbly kissed his masters feet, and briefly told him the cause of their coming, the danger wherein the land stood, the proffers he had made to King Almerick, desiring him now to ratifie them, and in demonstration thereof to give his hand to the Kings Embassadors. The Caliph demurred hereat, as counting such a gesture a diminution to his State; and at no hand would give him his hand bare, but gave it in his glove. To whom the resolute Earl of \* Cesarea; Sir, said he, Truth seeketh no holes to hide it self. Princes that will hold covenant, must deal openly and nakedly: give us therefore your bare hand; we will make no bargain with your glove. He was loth to do it, but necessity (a more imperious Caliph then himself at this time) commanded it: and he did it at last, dismissing the Christian Embassadors with such gifts as testified his greatness.

According to this agreement King Almerick cordially prosecuted his business, improving his utmost might to expell Syracon with his Turks out of Egypt; whom he bade battel, and got the day though he lost all his baggage: So that the conquest in a manner was divided; the Turks gaining the wealth, the Christians the honour of the victorie. Following his blow, he pinned up the Turks afterward in the city of Alexandria, and forced them to receive of him conditions of peace, and then returned himself with honour to Askelon.

### Chap. 37.

*Almerick against his promise invadeth Egypt;  
His perjury punished with the future ruine of  
the kingdome of Jerusalem; His death.*

When a Crown is the prize of the game, we must never expect fair play of the gamesters. King Almerick having looked on the beauty of the kingdome of Egypt, he longed for it: and now no longer to drive out the relics of the Turks, but to get Egypt to himself: And the next yeare, against the

\* Idem, cap.  
19.

1167  
Sept.  
21.

1168

the solemn league with the Caliph, invaded it with a great army. He falsely pretended that the Caliph would make a private peace with Noradine King of the Turks; and hence created his quarrel. For he hath a barren brain, who cannot fit himself with an occasion if he hath a desire to fall out. But Gilbert master of the Hospitallers chiefly stirred up the King to this warre, upon promise that the city and countrey of Pelusium, if conquered, should be given to his order. The Templars were much against the designe (one of their order was Embassadour at the ratifying of the peace) and with much zeal protested against it, as undertaken against oath and fidelity.

An oath being the highest appeal, perjury must needs be an heinous sinne, whereby God is solemnly invited to be witnesse of his own dishonour. And as bad is a God-mocking equivocation: For he that surpriseth truth with an ambush, is as bad an enemy as he that fighteth against her with a flat lie in open field. I know what is pleaded for King Almerick, namely, That Christians are not bound to keep faith with idolaters, the worshippers of a false god, as the Egyptian Caliph was on the matter. But open so wide a window, and it will be in vain to shut any doores. All contracts with Pagans may easily be voided, if this evasion be allowed. But what saith S. Hierome, \* It matters not to whom, but by whom we swear. And God to acquit himself, knowing the Christians prosperity could not stand with his justice after their perjury, frowned upon them. And from hence authours date the constant ill successe of the Holy warre. For though this expedition sped well at the first, and Almerick wonne the cite of Belbis or Pelusium, yet see what a cloud of miseries ensued.

First, Noradine in his absence wasted and wonne places neare Antiochia at pleasure.

Secondly, \* Meller Prince of Armenia, a Christian, made a covenant with Noradine, and kept it most constantly, to the inestimable disadvantage of the King of Jerusalem. This act of Meller must be condemned, but withall Gods justice admired. Christians break their covenant with Saracens in Egypt, whilst other Christians, to punish them, make and keep covenant with Turks in Asia.

Thirdly, the Saracens grew good souldiers on a sudden: who were naked at first, and onely had bows; but now learned from the Christians to use all offensive and defensive weapons. Thus rude nations alwayes better themselves in fighting with a skilfull enemy. How good mark-men are the Irish now-a-days, which some seventy yeares ago, at the beginning of their rebellions, had three men to discharge a \* hand-gunne!

Fourthly, Almericks hopes of conquering Egypt were frustrated;

N 3

\* Non considerandum cui, sed per quem juravimus. Comment.  
17. Ezech.

\* Centurion. in  
Centur. 1. 2. in  
Almerico.

\* Morison. in  
the description  
of Ireland,  
anno 1598.

94 strated; for after some victories he was driven out, and that whole kingdom conquered by Saladine (nephew to Syracon) who killed the Caliph with his horse-mace as he came to do him reverence, and made himself the absolute Turkish King of Egypt. And presently after the death of Noradine, the kingdom of the Turks at Damascus was by their consent bestowed upon him. Indeed Noradine left a sonne, Melexala, who commanded in part of his fathers dominions; but Saladine after his death got all for himself. Thus rising men shall still meet with more stairs to raise them; as those of falling, with stumbling-blocks to ruine them.

Mean time Jerusalem was a poore weather-beaten kingdom, bleak and open to the storm of enemies on all sides, having no covert or shelter of any good friend neare it, lying in the lions mouth betwixt his upper and nether jaw; Damascus on the North, and Egypt on the South; two potent Turkish kingdoms, united under a puissant Prince, Saladine. This made Almerick send for succours into Europe: for now few voluntaries came to this service; souldiers must be pressed with importunity. Our Western Princes were prodigall of their pity, but niggardly of their help: The heat of the warre in Palestine had cooled their desires to go thither: which made these Embassadors to return without supplies, having gone farre to fetch home nothing but discomfort and despair.

Lastly, King Almerick himself wearied with whole volleys of miseries, ended his life of a bloody flux, having reigned eleven full yeares; and was buried with his predecessours: Leaving two children, Baldwine and Sibyll, by Agnes his first wife: and by Mary his second wife (daughter to John Proto-Sebastus, a Grecian Prince) one daughter, Isabell; married \* afterwards to Hemphred the third, Prince of Thorone.

\* Tyrius, lib. 22. cap. 5.

### Chap. 38.

*Baldwine the fourth succeedeth; His education under William the reverend Archbishop of Tyre.*

Baldwine his sonne, the fourth of that name, succeeded his father: so like unto him, that we report the reader to the character of King Almerick, and will spare the repeating his description. Onely he differed in the temper of his bodie, being enclined to the leprosie called Elephantiasis, noysome to the patient,

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1173 May.

1174 July 15.

Anno Dom. 1173

patient, but not infectious to the company: not like King Uz-ziahs, but Naamans leprosie; which had it been contagious, no doubt the King of Assyria, when he went into the house of Rimmon, would have chosen another supporter. Mean time the kingdom was as sick as the King; he of a leprosie, that of an incurable consumption.

This Baldwine had the benefit of excellent education under William Archbishop of Tyre, a pious man and excellent scholar, skilled in all the learned Orientall tongues, besides the Dutch, and French his native language; a moderate and faithfull writer: For in the latter part of his history of the Holy warre, his eye guided his hand, till at last the taking of the city of Jerusalem so shook his hand, that his penne fell out, and he wrote no more. Treasurer he was of all the money contributed to the Holy warre; Chancellour of this kingdom; employed in severall Embassies in the West; present at the Lateran Council, the acts whereof he did record: \* Cardinall he might have been, but refused it: In a word, unhappy onely that he lived in that age, though that age was happy he lived in it.

\* Centuriar. Genus. in E. discipus.

### Chap. 39.

*The viciousnesse of Heraclius the Patriarch of Jerusalem; His Embassie to Henry the second, King of England, with the successe; The Maronites reconciled to the Romane Church.*

1181. After the death of Almerick Patriarch of Jerusalem, Heraclius was by the Queen-mother Mary, second wife to King Almerick, for his handsomenesse preferred to be Patriarch. \* William Archbishop of Tyre was violent against his election, because of a prophesie, That as Heraclius King of Persia wonne, so an Heraclius should lose the Croffe. But others excepted, that this exception was nothing worth: For let God give the man, and let the devil set the name. As for those blind prophesies, they misse the truth after then hit it; so that no wise man will lean his belief on so slender a prop. But Heraclius had a worse name then his name, the bad report of his vicious life; keeping a Vintners wife, whom he maintained in all state like an Emperesse, and owned the children he had by her: Her name \* Pascha de Rivera; and she was generally saluted, The \* Patriarchesse. His example infected the inferiour clergie, whose

\* Bevalius, De reg. Hieros. pag. 282.

\* Bevalius, pag. 284. \* Patriarchus, Marinus 520. lib. 3. part. 6. cap. 14.



whose corruption was a sad preface of the ruine of the realm : For when Prelates the Seers, when once those eye-strings begin to break, the heart-strings hold not out long after.

In his time the Maronites were reconciled to the Romane Church. Their main errour was the heresie of the Monothelites, touching one onely will and action in Christ. For after that the heresie of Nestorius about two persons in our Saviour was detested in the Eastern Churches, some thought not themselves safe enough from the heresie of two persons, till they were fallen with the opposite extremity of one nature in Christ: violence making men reel from one extreme to another. The errour once broched, found many embracers: As no opinion so monstrous, but if it hath had a mother, it will get a nurse. But now these Maronites renouncing their tenents, received the Catholick faith; though soon after, when Saladine had conquered their countrey, they relapsed to their old errours: wherein they continued till the latetimes of Pope Gregory the thirteenth, and Clement the eighth, when they again renewed their communion with the Romane Church. They live at this day on mount Libanus, not exceeding twelve thousand households, and pay to the great Turk for every one above twelve yeares old, \* seventeen sultanines by the yeare; and for every space of ground sixteen spanne square, one sultanine yearly, to keep themselves free from the mixture of Mahometanes. A

\* *Posteigne, Aspir. sacr. in Maron.*

\* *Briernood, Enquiries, cap. 15.*

\* sultanine is about seven shillings six pence of our money. To return to Heraclius; Soon after he was sent Embassadour to Henry the second, King of England, to crave his personall assistance in the Holy warre, delivering unto him the Royall standard, with the keyes of our Saviours sepulchre, the towre of David, and the city of Jerusalem, sent him by King Baldwin. King Henry was singled out for this service before other Princes, because the world justly reported him valiant, wise, rich, powerfull, and fortunate: And (which was the main) hereby he might expiate his murder, and gather up again the innocent blood which he had shed of Thomas Becket. Besides, Heraclius entituled our Henry to the kingdome of Jerusalem, because Geoffrey Plantagenet his father was sonne (some say, brother) to Fulk the fourth, King of Jerusalem. But King Henry was too wise to bite at such a bait, wherein was onely the husk of title, without the kernel of profit. Yet he pretended he would go into Palestine; and got hereby a masse of money towards his voyage: making every one, as well Clerk as Lay (saving such as went) to pay that yeare the tenth of all their revenues, moveables, and chattells, as well in gold as in silver. Of every citie in England he chose the richest men, as in London two hundred, in York an hundred, and so in proportion:

Anno Dom. 1182.

1185.

Anno Dom. 1187.

portion: and took the tenth of all their moveables, by the \* estimation of credible men who knew their estates; imprisoning those which refused to pay, *sub elemosyna titulo vitium rapacitatis includens*, saith Wallingham. But now when he had filled his purse, all expected he should fulfill his promise; when all his voyage into Palestine turned into a journey into France.

Heraclius, whilest he stayed in England, consecrated the Temple-church in the suburbs of London, and the house adjoining belonging to the Templars; since turned to a better use, for the students of our municipall Law; these new Templars defending one Christian from another, as the old ones Christians from Pagans.

97 \* *Daniel, in Henry 1.*

### Chap. 40.

*Saladine fitteth himself with forrein forces. The originall and great power of the Mammelukes, with their first service.*

IN the minority of King Baldwin, who was but thirteen yeares old, Milo de Planci a Noble-man was Protectour of the Realm: Whose pride and insolence could not be brooked; and therefore he was stabbed at Ptolemais, and Reimund Count of Tripoli chosen to succeed him.

Now Saladine seriously intendeth to set on the Kingdome of Jerusalem, and seeketh to furnish himself with souldiers for that service. But he perceived that the ancient nation of the Egyptians had lasted so long, that now it ranne dregs; their spirits being as low as the countrey they lived in, and they fitter to make merchants and mechanicks then military men: For they were bred in such soft employments, that they were presently foundred with any hard labour. Wherefore he sent to the Circassians by the lake of Meotis, neare Taurica Cheronefus, and thence bought many slaves of able and active bodies. For it was a people born in a hard countrey (no fewel for pleasure grew there nor was brought thither) and bred harder; so that warre was almost their nature, with custome of continuall skirmishing with the neighbouring Tartars.

These slaves he trained up in military discipline, most of them being Christians once baptized, but afterwards untaught Christ, they learned Mahomet, and so became the worse foes to religion for once being her friends. These proved excellent souldiers and speciall horsemen, and are called Mammelukes. And



\* Tyrius, lib.  
21. cap. 23.

surely the greatnesse of Saladine and his succellours stood not so much on the legs of their native Egyptians, as it leaned on the staff of these strangers. Saladine, and especially the Turkish Kings after him, gave great power, and placed much trust in these \* Mammelukes: Who lived a long time in ignorance of their own strength, till at last they took notice of it, and scorning any longer to be factours for another, they would set up for themselves, and got the sovereignty from the Turkish Kings. Thus Princes who make their subjects over-great, whet a knife for their own throats. And posterity may chance to see the insolent Janizaries give the grand Seignor such a trip on the heel as may tumble him on his back. But more largely of these Mammelukes usurping the kingdome of Egypt (God willing) in its proper place.

Thus Saladine having furnished himself with new souldiers, went to handfel their valour upon the Christians; invaded the Holy land, burning all the countrey before him, and raging in the bloud of poore Christians, till he came and encamped about Askelon.

Mean time whilest Reimund Count of Tripoli, Protector of the Kingdome, with Philip Earl of Flanders, & the chief strength of the Kingdome were absent in Celosyria, wasting the countrey about Emiffa and Cesarea, young King Baldwin lay close in Askelon, not daring to adventure on so strong an enemy. With whose fear Saladine encouraged, disperfed his army, some one way, some another, to forrage the countrey. King Baldwin courted with this opportunity, marched out privately, not having past foure hundred horse, with some few footmen, and assaulted his secure enemies, being fix and twenty thousand. But victory standeth as little in the number of souldiers, as verity in the plurality of voices. The Christians got the conquest, and in great triumph returned to Jerusalem.

This overthrow rather madded then daunted Saladine: Who therefore to recover his credit, some moneths after with his Mammelukes fell like a mighty tempest upon the Christians, as they were parting the spoil of a band of Turks, whom they had vanquished; put many to the sword, the rest to flight. Otto grand Master of the Templars, and Hugh sonne in law to the Count of Tripoli, were taken prifoners; and the King himself had much ado to escape. And thus both sides being well wearied with warre, they were glad to refresh themselves with a short slumber of a truce solemnly concluded; and their troubled estates breathed almost for the space of two yeares. Which truce Saladine the more willingly embraced, because of a famine in the kingdome of Damascus, where it had scarce\* rained for five yeares together.

\* Centuriſt.  
Cent. 12. in  
Baldvino 4.

Anno  
Dom.  
1176

Nov.  
25.

1179

Chap.

Anno  
Dom.  
1181

Chap. 41.

*The fatall jealousies bewixt the King and Reimund Earl of Tripoli.*

1181 **B**UT this so welcome a calm was troubled with domestical discords. For the Kings mother (a woman of a turbulent spirit) and her brother his steward, accused Reimund Count of Tripoli, governour of the Realm in the Kings minority, as if he affected the Crown for himself: which accusation this Earl could never wholly wipe off. For slender and lean slanders quickly consume themselves; but he that is branded with an hainous crime (though false) when the wound is cured, his credit will be killed with the scarre. Before we go further, let us view this Earl Reimunds disposition, and we shall find him marked to do mischief, and to ruine this Realm. He was sonne to Reimund, grandchild to Pontius Earl of Tripoli, by Cecilie the daughter of \* Philip King of France, great-grandchild to Bertram first Earl of Tripoli, great-great-grandchild to Reimund Earl of Tholose, one of speciall note amongst the primitive adventurers in the Holy warre. His mother was Hodiern, third daughter of Baldwin the second, King of Jerusalem. A man whose stomach was as high as his birth; and very serviceable to this State, whilest the sharpnesse of his parts were used against the Turks; which at last turned edge against the Christians: Proud, not able to digest the least wrong; and though long in captivity amongst the Turks, yet a very treuant in the school of affliction, who never learned the lesson of patience: So revengefull, that he would strike his enemy, though it were through the sides of religion and the Christian cause. For this present accusation of treason, good authours seem to be his compurgators for this at this time, though afterwards he discovered his treacherous intents. And because he could not rise by his service, he made his service fall by him; and undid what he had done for the publick good, because thereby he could not attain his private ends. He commanded over the Earldome of Tripoli, which was a territory of large extent, wherein he was absolute Lord. And by the way we may take notice of this as one of the banes of the Kingdome of Jerusalem, That the principalities of Antioch, Tripoli, and Edessa (whilest it was Christian) were branches of this Kingdome, but too big for the body: For the Princes thereof on each petty distast would stand on their guard; as if they had been subjects out of courtesie, not conscience: and though they confessed they owed the King all-

\* Tyrius, lib.  
21. cap. 5.

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allegiance, yet they would pay no more then they thought fitting themselves.

To return to King Baldwin; This suspicion of Earl Reimund, though at first but a buzze, soon got a sting in the Kings head, and he violently apprehended it. Whereupon Reimund coming to Jerusalem, was by the way commanded to stay, to his great disgrace. But some of the Nobility foreseeing what danger this discord might bring, reconciled them with much labour. However, Baldwin ever after looked on this Earl with a jealous eye. Jealousie, if it be fire in private persons, is wild-fire in Princes, who seldome rase out their names whom once they have written in their black bills. And as the Italian proverb is, Suspicion giveth a passe-port to faith to set it on packing; so this Earl finding himself suspected, was never after cordially loyall, smothering his treachery in this Kings life, which afterwards broke forth into an open flame.

Anno  
Dom.  
1183

### Chap. 42.

*Saladine is conquered by King Baldwin, and conquereth Mesopotamia; Discords about the Protectourship of Jerusalem; The death, and praise of Baldwin the fourth.*

**T**He kingdom of Damascus being recovered of the famine, Saladine having gotten his ends by the truce, would now have the truce to end; and breaking it (as not standing with his haughty designs) marched with a great army out of Egypt through Palestine to Damascus, much spoiling the country. And now having joyned the Egyptian with the Damascene forces, re-entred the Holy land. But young King Baldwin meeting him, though but with seven hundred to twenty thousand, at the village Froboler, overthrew him in a great battel; and Saladine himself was glad with speedy flight to escape the danger, and by long marches to get him again to Damascus. Afterward he besieged Berytus both by sea & land: but the vigilance and valour of King Baldwin defeated his taking of it.

Saladine finding such tough resistance in the Holy land, thought to make a better purchase by laying out his time in Mesopotamia. Wherefore passing Euphrates, he wonne Charran and divers other cities: and then returning, in Syria besieged Aleppo the strongest place the Christians had in that country;

fo

Centurist.  
Cent. 12. in  
Baldwino 4.

Anno  
Dom.  
1183

so fortified by nature, that he had little hope to force it. But treason will runne up the steepest ascent, where valour it self can scarce creep: and Saladine with the battery of bribes made such a breach in the loyalty of the governour, that he betrayed it unto him.

Thus he cometh again into the Holy land more formidable then ever before, carrying an army of terrour in the mentioning of his name, which drove the poore Christians all into their fenced cities. As for King Baldwin, the leprosie had arrested him prisoner, and kept him at home. Long had this Kings spirit endured this infirmity, swallowing many a bitter pang with a smiling face, and going upright with patient shoulders under the weight of his disease. It made him put all his might to it, because when he yeilded to his sickness, he must leave off the managing of the State; and he was loth to put off his royall robes before he went to bed, a Crown being too good a companion for one to part with willingly. But at last he was made to stoop, and retired himself to a private life, appointing Baldwin his nephew (a child of five yeares old) his successor; and Guy Earl of Joppa and Askalon, this childes father in law, to be Protectour of the Realm in his minority.

But soon after he revoked this latter act, and designed Reimund Earl of Tripoli for the Protectour. He displaced Guy, because he found him of no over-weight worth, scarce passable without favourable allowance, little feared of his foes, and as little loved of his friends. The more martiall Christians sleighted him as a slug, and neglected so lazy a leader that could not keep pace with those that were to follow him: Yea, they refused (whilest he was Protectour) at his command to fight with Saladine; and out of distast to their Generall, suffered their enemies freely to forrage; which was never done before: For the Christians never met any Turks wandring in the Holy land, but on even terms they would examine their passe-port how sufficient it was, and bid them battel.

Guy stormed at his displacing, and though little valiant, yet very fullen, left the Court in discontent, went home, and fortified his cities of Joppa and Askalon. What should King Baldwin do in this case? Whom should he make Protectour? Guy had too little, Reimund too much spirit for the place. He feared Guy's cowardlinesse, lest he should lose the kingdom to the Turks; and Reimunds treachery, lest he should get it for himself. Thus anguish of mind and weaknesse of bodie (a doughtie conquest for their united strengths, which single might sufficed) ended this Kings dayes, dying young at five and twenty yeares of age. But if by the morning we may guesse at the day, he would have been no whit inferiour to any of his predecessors;

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four; especially if his body had been able: but (alas!) it spoiled the musick of his soul, that the instrument was quite out of tune. He reigned twelve yeares, and was buried in the Temple of the Sepulchre: a King happie in this, that he died before the death of his Kingdome.

Chap. 43.

*The short life, and wofull death of Baldwin the fifth an infant. Guy his father in law succeedeth him.*

*Camd. Brit. in the description of the countie of Dublin.*

Isa. 3. 4.

IT is a rare happineffe of the family of S. Laurence, Barons of Hoath in Ireland, that the heirs for 400 yeares together alwayes have been of age before the death of their fathers: For Minors have not onely baned families, but ruined realms. It is one of Gods threatnings; I will give children to be their Princes, and babes shall rule over them. With this rod God strook the Kingdome of Jerusalem thrice in 40 yeares; Baldwin the third, fourth, and fifth, being all under age; and this last but five yeares old. He was the posthumus sonne of William Marquesse of Montferrat, by Sibyll his wife, sister to Baldwin the fourth, daughter to King Almerick: She afterwards was married to Guy Earl of Joppa and Askelon.

Now Reimund Earl of Tripoli challenged to be Protector of this young King, by the vertue of an Act of the former King so assigning him. But Sibyll mother to this infant, to defeat Reimund, first murdered all naturall affection in her self, and then by poyson murdered her sonne; that so the Crown in her right might come to her husband Guy. This Baldwin reigned eight moneths, eight dayes; faith mistaken Munster: and some mistake more, who make him not to reigne at all; cruel to wrong his memorie of his honour, whom his mother had robbed both of his life and Kingdome.

His death was concealed, till Guy his father in law had obtained by large bribes to the Templars and Heraclius the Patriarch, to be crowned King: One more ennobled with his descent from the ancient family of the Lusignans in Poictou, then for any \*eminencie in himself: His gifts were better then his endowments. Yet had he been more fortunate, he would have been accounted more vertuous; men commonly censuring that the fault of the King, which is the fate of the kingdome.

\* Tyrius, lib. 22. cap. 25. & 27. calleth him hominem in discretum & penitus inuulnem.

1185

Anno Dom. 1185 May 16.

dome. And now the Christian affairs here posted to their wofull period, being spurred on by the discords of the Princes.

Chap. 44.

*Church-affairs: Of Haymericus Patriarch of Antioch; Of the Grecian Anti-patriarchs; and of the learned Theodorus Balsamon.*

WHILEST Heraclius did Patriarch it in Jerusalem, one Haymericus had the same honour at Antioch. He wrote to Henry the second King of England, a bemoaning letter of the Christians in the East, and from him received another, fraught with never-performed fair promises. This man must needs be different from that Haymericus who began his Patriarchship in Antioch anno 1143, and sat but twelve yeares, say the \*Centuriatours: But \*Baronius, as different from them sometimes in Chronologie as Divinitie, maketh them the same. Then must he be a through-old man, enjoying his place above fourtie yeares; being probably before he wore the style of Patriarch, well worn in yeares himself. I must confesse, it passeth my Chymistrie to extract any agreement herein out of the contrariety of writers. We must also take notice, that besides the Latine Patriarchs in Jerusalem and Antioch, there were also Grecian Anti-patriarchs appointed by the Emperour of Constantinople: who having no temporall power nor profit by Church-lands, had onely jurisdiction over those of the Greek Church. We find not the chain of their succession, but here and there light on a link, and at this time in Jerusalem on three successively: 1. Athanasius; whom though \*one out of his abundant charitie is pleased to style a Schismaticke, yet was he both pious and learned, as appeareth by his epistles. 2. Leontius, \*commended likewise to posteritie for a good Clerk and an honest man. 3. Dositheus, \*inferiour to the former in both respects: Isaac the Grecian Emperour sent to make him Patriarch of Constantinople, and Dositheus catching at both, held neither, but betwixt two Patriarchs chairs fell to the ground.

Antioch also had her Greek Patriarchs: As one Sotericus, displaced for maintaining some unsound tenets about our Saviour: After him Theodorus Balsamon, the oracle of the learned Law in his age. He compiled and commented on the ancient Canons; and principally set forth the privileges of Constan-

\* Centur. 12. in Episcop. \* Annal. Eccl. in Haymerico.

\* Baronius in anno 1180.

\* Nicetas Choniates, in Isacio Angelo, p. 438. \* Idem ibidem.

Constantinople, listening, say the Romanists, to the least noise that soundeth to the advancing of the Eastern Churches, and knocking down Rome wheresoever it peepeth above Constantinople. This maketh Bellarmine except against him as a partiall writer; because a true Historian should be neither partie, advocate, nor judge, but a bare witness.

\* Nicetas  
Chon. in Is-  
acio, pag. 440.

By \* Isaac the Grecian Emperour this Balsamon was also deceived: he pretended to remove him to Constantinople, on condition he would prove the translation of the Patriarch to be legall, which is forbidden by the Canons. Balsamon took upon him to prove it: and a Lawyers brains will beat to purpose when his own preferment is the fee. But herein he did but crack the nut for another to eat the kernel: For the Emperour mutable in his mind, changing his favourites as well as his clothes before they were old, when the legality of the translation was avowed, bestowed the Patriarchship of Constantinople on another; and Theodorus was still staked down at Antioch in a true spirituall preferment, affording him little bodily maintenance.

## Chap. 45.

*The revolt of the Earl of Tripoli, The Christians irrecoverably overthrown, and their King taken prisoner.*

There was at this time a truce betwixt the Christians and Saladine, broken on this occasion: Saladines mother went from Egypt to Damascus, with much treasure and a little train, as sufficiently guarded with the truce yet in force: when Reinold of Castile surpris'd and robbed her. Saladine glad of this occasion, gathereth all his strength together, and besiegeth Ptolemais.

Now Reimund Earl of Tripoli appeareth in his colours, vexed at the losse of the government. His great stomach hath no room for patience: and his passions boyled from a fever to a phrensie; so that blinded with anger at King Guy, he mistaketh his enemy, and will be revenged on God and religion; revolting with his Principallitie (a third part of the Kingdome of Jerusalem) to Saladine; and in his own person under a visard, assisted him in this siege.

Out of the citie marched the Templars and Hospitallers, and falling on the Turks killed twentie thousand of them.

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Yet they gave welnigh a valuable consideration for their victory, the master of the Hospitallers being slain; and a brave General in battel never dieth unattended.

Saladine hereupon raiseth his siege; and Reimund Earl of Tripoli, whether out of fear the Christians might prevail, or remorse of conscience, or discontent, not finding that respect he expected of Saladine (who had learned that politick maxime, To give some honour, no trust to a fugitive) reconciled himself to King Guy; and sory for his former offense, returned to the Christians.

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King Guy hereupon gathering the whole strength of his weak Kingdome to do their last devoir, determined to bid Saladine battel; though having but fifteen hundred horse and fifteen thousand foot, against an hundred and twenty thousand horse and an hundred and sixty thousand foot. Nigh Tiberias the battel was fought: They close in the afternoon; but night moderating betwixt them; both sides drew their stakes till next morning: then on afresh. The Christians valour poised the number of their enemies; till at last the distemper of the weather turned the scales to the Turks side. More Christians (thirsty within and scalded without) were killed with the beams the sunne darted then with the arrows the enemies shot. Reinold of Castile was slain, with most of the Templars and Hospitallers. \* Gerard Master of the Templars, and Boniface Marqueſſe of Montferrat were taken prisoners; and also Guy the King, who saw the rest of his servants slain before his eyes, onely obtaining of Saladine the life of his schoolmaster. Yea, in this battel the flower of the Christian chevalrie was cut down: and what was most lamented, the Croſſe (saith Matthew Paris) which freed men from the captivity of their sinnes, was for mens sinnes taken captive. Most impute this overthrow to the Earl of Tripoli, who that day commanded a great part of the Christian army, and is said of some treacherously to have fled away. But when a great action miscarrieth, the blame must be laid on some; and commonly it lighteth on them who formerly have been found false, be it right or wrong: So impossible is it for him who once hath broken his credit by treason, ever to have it perfectly joynted again. It increaseth the suspicion, because this Earl, afterwards found dead in his bed (as some say) was circumcised.

Victorious Saladine, as he had thrown a good cast, played it as well; in a moneth conquering Berytus, Biblus, Ptolemais, and all the havens (Tyre excepted) from Sidon to Askalon. He used his conquest with much moderation, giving lives & goods to all, and forcing no Christians to depart their cities, save onely the Latines. This his gentleness proceeded from policy, well knowing that if the Christians could not buy their lives cheap, they

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would

\* Beſoldus, in  
Guidones ex  
cruso.

would sell them deare, and fight it out to the uttermost. Askelton was stout, and would not surrender. Wherefore Saladine, loth with the hazard of so long a siege to check his fortune in the full speed, left it, and went to Jerusalem, as to a place of lesse difficulty and more honour to conquer.

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## Chap. 46.

*Jerusalem wonne by the Turk, with wofull remarkables thereat.*

BEfore the beginning of the siege, the \*sunne, as sympathizing with the Christians woes, was eclipsed. A sad preface of the losse of Jerusalem. For though those within the city valiantly defended it for a fortnight, yet they saw it was but the playing out of a desperate game which must be lost: Their foes neare, their friends farre off; and those willing to pity, unable to help. Why then should they prolong languishing, where they could not preserve life? Concluding to lavish no more valour, they yeelded up the city, on condition all their lives might be redeemed, a man for ten, a woman for five, a child for \*one besant: and fourteen thousand poore people not able to pay their ranfome, were kept in perpetuall bondage. All Latines were cast out of the citie; but those of the Greek religion were permitted to stay therein: Onely Saladine to two Frenchmen gave liberty to abide there, and maintenance to live on, in reverence to their age: the one Robert of Corbie, a souldier to Godfrey of Bouillon when he wanne this citie; the other Fulk Fiole, the first child born in the citie after the Christians had conquered it.

Saladine possessed of Jerusalem, turned the churches into stables, saving onely that of the Sepulchre for a great summe of money. Solomons Temple he converted to a Mosque, sprinkling it all over with rose-water, as if he would wash it from profanenesse, whilest he profaned it with his washing.

Thus Jerusalem after it had fourescore and eight yeares been enjoyed by the Christians, by Gods just judgement was taken again by the Turks. What else could be expected? Sinne reigned in every corner; there was scarce \*one honest woman in the whole city of Jerusalem. Heraclius the Patriarch, with the Clergie, was desperately vicious: and no wonder if iron rust, when gold doth; and if the Laity followed their bad example.

This dolefull news brought into Europe, filled all with sighs and forrows. Pope Urbane the third (as another Eli at the Arks capti-

Sept.  
4.

Octo.  
2.

\* M. Paris,  
in anno  
1187.

\* Prolus, in  
Guidone,  
pag. 285.

\* Prolus, in  
Guidone,  
pag. 284.

Anno  
Dom.  
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captivity) died for grief: The Cardinals lamented out of measure, vowing such reformation of manners; Never more to take bribes, Never more to live so viriously; yea, Never to ride on an \*horse so long as the Holy land was under the feet of the Turks. But this their passion spent it self with its own violence; and these mariners vows ended with the tempest.

In this generall grief of Christendome there was one woman found to rejoyce, and she a German Prophetesse called S. Christian, a virgin. Who as she had foretold the day of the defeat, so on the same she professed that she saw in a vision Christ and his Angels rejoycing. For the losse of the earthly Canaan was gain to the heavenly; peopling it with many inhabitants, who were conquerours in their overthrow; whilest they \*required Christs passion, and died for him who suffered for them. But for the truth both of the doctrine and historie hereof, none need burden their beleef farther then they please. We will conclude all with Roger Hovedens witty descant on the time: \*When Jerusalem was wonne by the Christians, and afterwards when it was lost, an Urbane was Pope of Rome, a Frederick Emperour of Germany, an Heraclius Patriarch of Jerusalem. But by his leave, though the first of his observations be true, the second is a flat falsitie, the third a foul mistake, and may thus be mended: (It is charity to lend a crutch to a lame conceit) When the Crosse was taken from the Persians, Heraclius was Emperour; and when it was taken from the Turks, Heraclius was Patriarch. Thus these curious observations (like over-small watches) not one of a hundred goeth true. Though it cannot be denied, but the same name (as Henry of England, one the winne-all, another the lose-all in France) hath often been happy and unhappy in founding and confounding of kingdomes. But such nominall toyces are rags not worth a wise mans stooping to take them up.

\* Roger  
Hoveden, in  
Henrico 2.  
anno 1187.

\* Quendam  
morti Salva-  
toris vicem  
cum multa  
devotione re-  
pendunt, Ba-  
ronius, in an-  
no 1187.

\* Loco prins  
citato.

*The end of the second Book.*

# The Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

## Book III.

### Chap. 1.

*Conrade of Montferrat valiantly defendeth  
Tyre, and is chosen King.*

Anno  
Dom.  
1187

**I**N this wofull estate stood the Christian affairs in the Holy land, when Conrade Marqueſſe of Montferrat arrived there. His worth commandeth my penne to wait on him from his own countrey till he came hither. Sonne he was to Boniface Marqueſſe of Montferrat, and had ſpent his youth in the ſervice of Iſaacius Angelus the Grecian Emperour. This Iſaacius, ſitter for a Prielt then a Prince, was alwayes bred in a private way; and the conſining of his body ſeemeth to have brought him to a pent and narrow ſoul. For he ſuffered rebels to affront him to his face, never ſending any army againſt them, but commend- ing all his cauſe to a company of bare-footed Friars whom he kept in his Court, deſiring them to pray for him, and by their pious tears to quench the combuſtions in the Empire. But our Conrade plainly told him, he muſt uſe as well the weapons of the \* left hand as of the right; meaning the ſword as well as prayers: And by the advice of this his Generall, he quickly ſub- dued all his enemies. Which his great ſervice found ſmall re- ward: \* onely he was graced to wear his ſhoes of the Imperiall faſhion, a low matter, but there (forſooth) accounted an high honour. But ſoon after Iſaac was ſick of this Phyſician who had cured his Empire. If private debtors care not for the company of their creditours, much leſſe do Princes love to ſee them to whom they ow themſelves and their kingdome: ſo unwelcome are courteſies to them when above their requitall. Now it is an

\* Nicetas, in Iſaacio An- gelo, lib. 1. §. 7.

\* Nicetas, in Iſaacio An- gelo, lib. 2. §. 1.

Μοναχὸν τὸ μὴ τοῖς πολ- λοῖς οὐκ ἔχον ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν πολλῶν τὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον

ancient policie, to rid away high spirits by sending them on some plausible errand into remote parts, there to seek for themselves an honourable grave. To this end Isaacius by the persuasions of some spurred on Conrade (free enough of himself to any noble action) to go into Palestine, there to support the ruinous affairs of the Christians. Conrade was sensible of their plot, but suffered himself to be wrought on, being weary of the Grecians baseness; and came into the Holy land with a brave company of Gentlemen furnished on their own cost.

For a while we set him aside, and return to Saladine: Who by this time had taken Askalon, on condition that King Guy, and Gerard master of the Templars should be set at liberty. Nor long after was the castle of Antioch betrayed unto him by the \* Patriarch; and the citie, scarce got with eleven moneths siege, was lost in an instant, with five and twenty strong towns more which attended the fortune of Antioch: and many provinces thereto belonging came into the possession of the Turks. Must not the Christians needs be bankrupts if they continue this trade, buying deare and selling cheap, gaining by inches and losing by ells?

With better successe those in Tripoli (which citie the wife of Earl Reimund after his death delivered to the Christians) defended themselves against Saladine. For shame they would not forgo their shirts, though they had parted with their clothes. Stark-naked from shelter had the Christians been left, if stripped out of Tripoli and Tyre. Manfully therefore they defended themselves; and Saladine having tasted of their valour in Tripoli, had no mind to mend his draught, but marched away to Tyre.

But Conrade of Montferrat, who was in Tyre with his army, so used the matter, that Saladine was faine to flie, and leave his tents behind him, which were lined with much treasure: And the Christians had that happinesse to squeeze that sponge which formerly was filled with their spoil. They in Tyre in token of gratitude chose this Conrade King of Jerusalem; swearing themselves his subjects who had kept them from being the Turks slaves. To strengthen his title, he \* married Elifa or Isabella (Authours christen her with either name) formerly espoused to Humfred of Thoron, sister to Baldwin the fourth, daughter to Almerick King of Jerusalem.

By this time King Guy was delivered out of prison, having sworn never more to bear arms against Saladine: which oath by the Clergie was adjudged void, because forced from him when he was detained in prison unjustly against promise. The worst was, now he had gained his liberty he could not get his Kingdom. Coming to Tyre, they shut the gates against him, own-

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ing no King but Conrade. Thus to have two kings together, is the way to have neither king nor kingdom.

But Guy following the affront as well as he might, and piecing up a cloth of remnants with his broken army, besieged Ptolemais. The Pisanes, Venetians, and Florentines, with their sea-succours came to assist him. But this siege was Church-work, and therefore went on slowly; we may easier perceive it to have moved then to move, especially if we return hither a twelve-moneth hence.

## Chap. 2.

*The Church-story in the Holy land to the end  
of the warre; The use and abuse of titular  
Bishops.*

WE must now no longer look for a full face of a Church in the Holy land; it is well if we find one cheek and an eye. Though Jerusalem and Antioch were wonne by the Turks, the Pope ceased not to make Patriarchs of both. We will content our selves with the names of those of Jerusalem, finding little else of them remarkable.

After Heraclius, Thomas Agni was Patriarch, \* present in the Laterane Council under Innocent the third.

Geraldus succeeded him, who \* sided with the Pope against Frederick the Emperour.

Albertus, Patriarch in Jerusalem when the Christians lost their land in Syria. He prescribed some rules to the \* Carmelites.

After him, Antonie Beak Bishop of Duresme, the most triumphant Prelate of the English militant Church except Cardinall Wolsey. He founded and endowed a Colledge for Prebends at \* Chester in the Bishoprick of Duresme: Yet no doubt he had done a deed more acceptable to God, if in stead of sacrifice he had done justice, and not defrauded the Lord Vessie's heir, to whom he was guardian. Let those who are delighted with Sciographie, paint out (if they please) these shadow-Patriarchs, as also those of Antioch, and deduce their succession to this day: For this custome still continueth, and I find the Suffraganes to severall Archbishops and Bishops in Germany and France, style themselves Bishops of Palestine: for example, The Suffraganes of 1 Tornay, 2 Munster, 3 Mentz, 4 Utrecht, 5 Sens, 6 Triers, write themselves Bishops

\* Centur.  
Cent. 13.  
cap. 9.  
\* Matth.  
Paris, in  
anno 1229.  
\* Centur. ut  
prius.

\* Camden,  
Brit. pag. 601  
Godwine, in  
Episc. Dun-  
elm.  
See this cata-  
logue of Pa-  
triarchs al-  
tered and per-  
fected in the  
Chronologic.

Adricomius,  
in Terra  
inlla.

\* Sabell. Enn.  
9. lib. 5. pag.  
377.

Hoveden.

\* Beseidus, ex  
Ritio De reg.  
pag. 293.

Bishops of 1 Sarepta, 2 Ptolemais, 3 Sidon, 4 Hebron, 5 Cesarea, 6 Azotus. But well did one in the Council of Trent give these titular Bishops the title of *figmenta humana*, mens devices; because they have as little ground in Gods word and the ancient Canons for their making, as ground in Palestine for their maintenance: Yea, a titular Bishop soundeth a contradiction: for a Bishop and a Church or Diocese, are relatives, as a husband and his wife. Besides, these Bishops by ascending to so high an honour, were faine to descend to many indecencies and indignities to support themselves, with many corruptions in selling of Orders they conferred, the truest and basest Simonie.

However the Pope still continueth in making of them: First, because it is conceived to conduce to the state and amplitude of the Romane Church to have so many Bishops in it, as it is the credit of the Apothecarieto have his shop full, though many outside-painted pots be emptie within. Secondly, hereby his Holiness hath a facile and cheap way both to gratifie and engage ambitious spirits, and such Chameleons as love to feed on aire. Yea, the Pope is not onely free of spirituall dignities, but also of temporall titular honours; as when in the dayes of Queen Elisabeth he made Thomas Stukely (a bankrupt in his loyaltie as well as in his estate) Marquesse of Leinster, Earl of Weifford and Caterlogh, Vicount Murrough, Baron Rosse and Hydron in Ireland: The best is, these honours were not heave nor long worn, he being slain soon after in Barbarie, else the number of them would have broken his back. Lastly, there is a reall use made of these nominall Bishops: for these ciphres joyned with figures will swell a number, and sway a side in a generall Councel, as his Holiness pleaseth; so that he shall truly *cogere concilium*, both gather and compell it. Of the foure Archbishops which were at the first session in the Council of Trent two were merely titular, who never had their feet in those Churches whence they took their honour. But enough hereof; Now to matters of the common-wealth.

Anno  
Dom.  
wCamd. Brit. in  
his descript.  
of Dublin.History of  
Trent, lib. 2.  
pag. 140.

Chap.

## Chap. 3.

## Frederick Barbarossa his setting forth to the Holy land; Of the tyrannous Grecian Emperours.

Matters going thus wofully in Palestine, the Christians sighs there were alarms to stirre up their brethren in Europe to go to help them, and chiefly Frederick Barbarossa the Germane Emperour. Impute it not to the weaknesse of his judgement, but the strength of his devotion, that at seventy yeares of age, having one foot in his grave, he would set the other on Pilgrimage. We must know that this Emperour had been long tied to the stake, and baited with seven fresh successeive Popes, till at last not conquered with the strength, but wearied with the continuance of their malice, he gave himself up to be ordered by them; and Pope Clement the third sent him on this voyage into the Holy land.

June  
29.

Marching through Hungarie with a great armie of one hundred and fiftie thousand valiant souldiers, he was welcomed by King Bela. But changing his host, his entertainment was changed, being basely used when he entred into the Grecian Empire.

Arnoldus  
Lubecensis.

Of the Emperours whereof we must speak somewhat. For though being to write the Holy warre I will climbe no hedges, to trespasse on any other story, yet will I take leave to go the high-way, and touch on the succession of those Princes which lead to the present discourse.

When Conrade Emperour of Germanie last passed this way, Emmanuel was Emperour in Greece: Who having reigned thirtie eight yeares, left his place to Alexius his sonne: A youth, the depth of whose capacitie onely reached to understand pleasure; governed by the factious nobilitie, till in his third yeare he was strangled by Andronicus his cousin.

Andronicus succeeded him; a diligent reader and a great lover of \* S. Pauls epistles, but a bad practiser of them: Who rather observing the Devils rule, That it is the best way for those who have been bad, to be still worse, sensing his former villanies by committing new ones, held by tyrannie what he had gotten by usurpation; till having lived in the blood of others, he died in his own, tortured to death by the headlesse multitude; from whom he received all the cruelties which might be expected from servile natures when they command.

Then Isaacijs Angelus, of the Emperiall blood, was placed

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in

\* Nicetas  
Choniates, in  
sine vita  
Andronici.



114  
\* In the first  
chapter of  
this book.

\* Nicetas  
Choniates, in  
Isacio, lib. 2.  
pag. 436.  
\* Baronijs,  
Annal.

in his throne; of whom partly \* before. Nero-like, he began mildly, but soon fell to the trade of tyrannie: no personall, but the hereditarie sinne of these Emperours. He succeeded also to their suspicions against the Latines, as if they came through his countrey for some sinister ends. This jealous Emperour reigned when Frederick with his armie passed this way; and many bad offices were done bewixt these two Emperours by unfaithfull \* Embassadours, as such false *mediums* have often deceived the best eyes. But Frederick finding perfidious dealing in the Greeks, was drawn to draw his sword, taking as he went, \* Philippople, Adrianople, and many other cities, not so much to get their spoil, as his own securitie. Isaac understanding hereof, and seeing these Pilgrimes would either find or make their passage, left all terms of enmitie, and fell to a fair complying, accommodating them with all necessaries for their transportation over the Bosporus, pretending to hasten them away because the Christians exigencies in Palestine admitted of no delay: doing it indeed for fear, the Grecians loving the Latines best when they are furthest from them.

Anno  
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Aug.  
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28.

## Chap. 4.

### The great victories and wofull death of Frederick the worthy Emperour.

Frederick entring into the territories of the Turkish Sultan of Iconium, found great resistance, but vanquished his enemies in foure severall set battels. Iconium he took by force, giving the spoil thereof to his souldiers, in revenge of the injuries done to his uncle Conrade the Emperour by the Sultan of that place. The citie of Philomela he made to sing a dolefull tune, rasing it to the ground, and executing all the people therein as rebels against the law of nations, for killing his Embassadours: and so came with much difficulty and honour into Syria.

May  
19.

\* Amylius in  
Phil. Au-  
gusto, pag.  
178. &  
179.

Saladine shooke for fear, hearing of his coming; and following the advice of \* Charatux his counsellor (counted one of the wisest men in the world, though his person was most contemptible; so true it is, none can guesse the jewel by the casket) dismantled all his cities in the Holy land save some frontier-places, rasing their walls and forts, that they were not tenable with an army. For he feared if the Dutch wonne these places, they would not easily be driven out: whereas

Anno  
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whereas now being naked from shelter, he would weary them with set battels, having men numberlesse, and those neare at hand; and so he would tame the Romane Eagle by watching him, giving him no rest nor respite from continuall fighting. It is therefore no Paradox to say, That in some case the strength of a kingdome doth consist in the weaknesse of it. And hence it is, that our English Kings have suffered Time, without disturbing her meals, to feed her belly full on their in-land castles and citie-walls, which whilest they were standing in their strength, were but the nurseries of rebellion. And now, as \* one observeth, because we have no strong cities, warre in England waxeth not old (being quickly stabbed with set battels) which in the Low-countreys hath already outlived the grand climastericall of threescore and ten yeares.

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But Frederick the Emperour, being now entring into the Holy land, was to the great grief of all Christians suddenly taken away, being drowned in the river of Saleph; a river (such is the envie of Barbarisme obscuring all places) which cannot accurately be known at this day, because this new name is a stranger to all ancient maps. If he went in to wash himself, as some write, he neither consulted with his health nor honour: Some say, his horse foundred under him as he passed the water; others, that he fell from him. But these severall relations, as varietie of instruments, make a dolefull consort in this, that there he lost his life: and no wonder, if the cold water quickly quenched those few sparks of naturall heat left in him at seventie yeares of age. \* Neubrigenis conceiveth that this his sudden death was therefore inflicted on him, because in his youth he fought against the Popes and Church of Rome: But I wonder that he seeing an Emperour drowned in a ditch, durst adventure into the bottomlesse depths of Gods counsels. Let it content us to know that oftentimes heaven blasteth those hopes which bud first and fairest; and the feet of mightie Monarchs do slip, when they want but one step to their enemies throne.

\* Bzrklay,  
Bellum in  
Anglia non  
senescit.

\* Lib. 4. cap.  
13.

June  
21.

After his death Frederick Duke of Suevia, his second sonne, undertook the conduct of the armie. Now the Turks conceiving grief had steeped and moistened these Pilgrimes hearts, gave them a sudden charge, in hope to have overthrown them. But the valiant Dutch, who though they had scarce wiped their eyes had scoured their swords, quickly forced them to retire. Then Frederick took the citie of Antioch, which was easily delivered unto him, and his hungrie souldiers well refreshed by the citizens, being as yet for the most part Christians. Marching from hence in set battel, he overthrew Dodequin Generall of Saladines forces, slew foure thousand,

Q 2

and

and took a thousand prisoners with little losse of his own men: and so came to the citie of Tyre, where he buried the corpse of his worthy father in the Cathedrall Church next the tombe of learned Origen; and Gulielmus Tyrius the worthy Archbishop preached his funerall sermon. We may heare his sorrowfull army speaking this his Epitaph unto him;

*Earth scarce did yeild ground enough for thy sword  
To conquer, how then could a brook afford  
Water to drown thee? brook, which since doth fear  
(O guiltie conscience) in a map t' appear.  
Yet blame we not the brook, but rather think  
The weight of our own sinnes did make thee sink.  
Now sith 'tis so, wee'l fetch a brackish main  
Out of our eyes, and drown thee once again.*

From hence by sea they were conveyed to the Christian army before Ptolemais, where young Frederick died of the plague: and his great army which at first consisted of an hundred and fiftie thousand at their setting forth out of Germanie, had now no more left then \* eighteen hundred armed men.

\* Amylius, in  
Phil. 2. pag.  
175.

## Chap. 5.

*The continuation of the famous siege of Ptolemais; The Dutch Knights honoured with a grand Master.*

WE have now at our leisure overtaken the snail-like siege of Ptolemais, still slowly creeping on. Before it the Christians had not onely a Nationall but an Oecumenicall army; the abridgement of the Christian world: Scarce a state or populous citie in Europe but had here some competent number to represent it.

How many bloudie blows were here lent on both sides, and repayed with interest? what sallies? what assaults? what encounters? whilest the Christians lay betwixt Saladine with his great army behind them and the citie before them. One memorable battel we must not omit. It was agreed betwixt Saladine and the Christians to trie their fortunes in a pitched field: and now the Christians were in fair hope of a conquest, when an \* imaginarie causelesse fear put them to a real fight, so ticklish are the scales of victory, a very mote will turn them. Thus confusedly they ran away, and boot would have been given to change a strong arm for a swift leg. But behold,

\* Fuga imaginario metu orta, Sabel.  
Enn. 9. lib.  
5. pag. 377.

behold, Geoffrey Lusignan King Guy's brother (left for the guarding of the camp) marching out with his men, confused the Christians in this their groundlesse mistake, and reinforced them to fight; whereby, they wonne the day, though with the losse of two thousand men and Gerard Master of the Templars.

It was vainly hoped, that after this victorie the citie would be surrendered: but the Turks still bravely defended it, though most of their houses were burnt and beaten down, and the citie reduced to a bare *skeleton* of walls and towres. They fought as well with their wits as weapons, and both sides devised strange defensive and offensive engines: so that Mars himself, had he been here present, might have learned to fight, and have taken notes from their practice. Mean time famine raged amongst the Christians; and though some provision was now and then brought in from Italy (for so farre they fetched it) yet these small showres after great droughts parched the more, and rather raised then abated their hunger.

Once more we will take our farewell of this siege for a twelve-moneth: But we must not forget that at this time, before the walls of Ptolemais the Teutonick order, or \* Dutch Knights (which since the dayes of Baldwin the second lived like private pilgrimes) had now their order honoured with Henry of Walpot their first grand Master, and they were enriched by the bountie of many Germane benefactors. These though slow, were sure; they did *hoc agere*, ply their work; more cordiall to the Christian cause then the Templars, who sometimes to save their own stakes would play bootie with the Turks. Much good service did the Dutch Knights in the Holy warre, till at last (no wise Doctour will lavish physick on him in whom he seeth *faciem cadaverosam*, so that death hath taken possession in the sick mans countenance) finding this warre to be desperate and *dedecus fortitudinis*, they even fairly left the Holy land, and came into Europe, meaning to lay out their valour on some thing that would quit cost. But hereof hereafter.

\* Munster, de  
Germania,  
lib. 3. pag.  
778.

## Chap. 6.

*Richard of England and Philip of France set forward to the Holy land; The danger of the interviews of Princes.*

THE miseries of the Christians in Syria being reported in Europe, made Richard the first, King of England, and Philip the second surnamed Augustus, King of France, to make up all private diffensions betwixt them, and to unite their forces against the Turks.

Richard was well stored with men, the bones; and quickly got money, the sinews of warre; by a thousand Princely skills gathering so much coin as if he meant not to return, because looking back would unbowe his resolution. To Hugh Bishop of Duresme, for his life, he sold the County of Northumberland; \* jesting he had made a new Earl of an old Bishop: He sold Barwick and Roxburgh to the Scottish king for ten thousand pounds: Yea, he protested he would sell his citie of \* London (if any were able to buy it) rather then he would be burdensome to his subjects for money. But take this as he spake it, for a flourish: for pretending he had lost his old, he made a new seal, wherewith he squeezed his subjects, and left a deep impression in their purses; forcing them to have all their \* instruments new-sealed, which any wayes concerned the Crown.

Having now provided for himself, he forgot not his younger brother John Earl of Morton, who was to stay behind him; an active man, who if he misliked the maintenance was cut for him, would make bold to carve for himself: Left therefore straitned for means he should swell into discontent, King Richard gave him many Earldomes and honours, to the yearly value of foure thousand marks. Thus he received the golden saddle, but none of the bridle of the Common-wealth: honour & riches were heaped upon him, but no place of trust and command. For the King deputed William Bishop of Ely his Vice-roy; choosing him for that place rather then any lay-Earl, because a Coronet perchance may swell into a Crown, but never a Mitre: For a Clergie-mans calling made him incapable of usurpation in his own person.

Thus having settled matters at home, he set forth with many of our nation; which either ushered or followed him. Of these the prime were, Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Bishop of Salisburie, Robert Earl of Leicester, Ralph de Glanville late chief Justice of England, Richard de

Clare,

Anno  
Dom.  
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\* Matthew  
Paris, Rich. 1.  
pag. 207.  
\* Martinus,  
in Richardo  
1.

\* Speed, in  
Richard the  
first.

Anno  
Dom.  
w

Clare, Walter de Kime, &c. The Bishops of Duresme and Norwich, though they had vowed this voyage, were dispensed with by the court of Rome (\* *que nulli deest pecuniam largienti*) to stay at home. His navie he sent about by Spain, and with a competent number took his own journey through France.

At Tours he took his Pilgrimes scrip and staff from the Archbishop. His staff at the same time \* casually brake in pieces; which some (whose dexteritie lay in sinister interpreting all accidents) construed a token of ill successe. Likewise, when he and the French king with their trains passed over the bridge of Lyons, \* on the fall of the bridge this conceit was built, That there would be a falling out betwixt these two Kings; which accordingly came to passe, their intercourse and familiaritie breeding hatred and discontent betwixt them.

Yea, the interviews of equall Princes have ever been observed dangerous. Now Princes measure their equalitie not by the extent of their dominions, but by the absoluteness of their power; so that he that is supreme and independent in his own countrey, counteth himself equall to any other Prince how great soever. Perchance some youthfull Kings may disport and solace themselves one in anothers companie, whilest as yet pleasure is all the elevation of their souls: But when once they grow sensible of their own greatnesse, (a lesson they will quickly learn, and shall never want teachers) then emulation will be betwixt them: because at their meeting they cannot so go in equipage, but one will still be the foremost: Either his person will be more proper, or carriage more court-like, or attendance more accomplished, or attire more fashionable, or some thing will either be or conceived to be more majesticall in one then the other: And corrivalls in honour count themselves eclipsed by every beam of state which shineth from their competitor. Wherefore the best way to keep great Princes together, is to keep them asunder, accommodating their businessse by Embassadours, lest the meeting of their own persons part their affections.

\* Matthew  
Paris, in Richardo 1<sup>o</sup>,  
pag. 207.

\* Roger  
Hoveden, in  
Richardo 1<sup>o</sup>,  
pag. 666.

\* Idem, ibidem.

## Chap. 7.

*King Richard conquereth Sicilie and Cyprus in his passage to the Holy land.*

AT Lyons these two Kings parted their trains, and went severall wayes into Sicilie. King Richard in his passage, though

\* Hoveden,  
in Rich. 1<sup>o</sup>,  
pag. 668.  
O Matth.  
Paris, in co-  
dum, pag.  
213.

though within fifteen miles of Rome, wanting (forsooth) either devotion or manners, vouchsafed not to give his Holiness a visit: yea, plainly told \* Octavian Bishop of Ostia the Popes Confessour, that having better objects to bestow his eyes on, he would not stirre a step to see the Pope: Because lately without mercie he had simoniacally extorted a masse of money from the Prelates of England. At Messana in Sicilie these two Kings meet again: where to complete King Richards joy, behold his Navie there safely arriving, which with much difficultie and danger had fetched a compasse about Spain.

And now King Richard by his own experience grew sensible of the miseries which merchants and mariners at sea underwent, being alwayes within few inches, often within an hairs breadth of death. Wherefore now touched with remorse of their pitifull case, he resolved to revoke the law of Wracks, as a law so just that it was even unjust. For formerly both in England and Normandie, the \* Crown was intituled to shipwrackt goods, and the King *jure gentium* made heir unto them; which otherwise *jure naturali* were conceived to be *in bonis nullius*, pertaining to no owner. But now our Richard refused to make advantage of such pitifull accidents, and to strip poore mariners out of those rags of their estates which the mercie and modestie of the waves and winds had left them. And therefore on the moneth of October, at Messana, in the presence of many Archbishops and Bishops, he for ever \* quitted the claim to Wracks: So that if any man out of the ship cometh alive to the shore, the propertie of the shipwrackt goods is still preserved to the owner. Yea, this grant was so enlarged by our succeeding Kings, that \* if a dogge or a cat escaped alive to land, the goods still remained the owners if he claimed them within a yeare and a day.

Tankred at this time was King of Sicilie; a bastard born: and no wonder, if climbing up to the throne the wrong way, he shaked when he sat down. Besides, he was a Tyrant; both detaining the dowrie and imprisoning the person of Joan wife to William late King of Sicilie, and sister to King Richard. But in what a case was he now, having two such mightie Monarchs come unto him! To keep them out, was above his power; to let them in, against his will. Well he knew it was wofull to lie in the rode where great armies were to passe: For power knoweth no inferiour friend; and the land-lord commonly loseth his rent, sometimes his land, where the tenant is too potent for him.

At last he resolved (how wisely or honestly, let others judge) openly to poise himself indifferent betwixt these two Kings,

Anno  
Dom.  
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Anno  
Dom.  
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Kings, secretly applying himself to the French: which King Richard quickly discovered; as dissembling goeth not long invisible before a judicious eye.

Mean time the citizens of Messana did the English much wrong, if not by the command; with the consent of the King. For though it be unjust to father the base actions of unruly people on their Prince; yet Tankred not punishing his people for injuring the English, when he might and was required thereunto, did in effect justifie their insolencies, and adopt their deeds to be his. Wherefore King Richard to avenge himself, took Messana by assault, seised on most forts in the Island, demanding satisfaction for all wrongs done to him and his sister. Tankred though dull at first, now pricked with the sword, came off roundly with many thousand ounces of gold; and seeing, as the case stood, his best thrift was to be prodigall, gave to our King what rich conditions soever he demanded.

Worse discords daily encreased betwixt the Kings of France and England; King Richard slighting the King of France his sister, whom he had promised to marrie, and expressing more affection to Beringaria daughter to the King of Navarre. Some Princes interposing themselves in this breach, rather asswaged the pain then removed the maladie: So dangerous are ruptures betwixt great ones, whose affections perchance by the mediation of friends may be brought again to meet, but never to unite and incorporate. King Philip thinking to forestall the market of honour, and take up all for himself, halted presently to Ptolemais: Richard followed at his leisure, and took Cyprus in his way. Isaac (or Cursac) reigned then in Cyprus; who, under Andronicus the Grecian Emperour (when every factious Noble-man snatched a plank out of that shipwrackt Empire) seised on this Island, and there tyrannized as a reputed King. Some falsely conceive him a Pagan: and his faith is suspected, because his charitie was so bad; killing the English that landed there, not having so much man as to pitie a woman, and to suffer the sea-sick Lady Beringaria to come on shore. But King Richard speedily overran the Island, honoured Isaac with the magnificent captivitie of silver fetters; yet giving his daughter libertie and princely usage. The Island he pawned to the Templars for readie money. And because Cyprus by antiquitie was celebrated as the seat of Venus, that so it might prove to him, in the joyous moneth of May he solemnly took to wife his beloved Lady Beringaria.

## Chap. 8.

*The taking of the citie Ptolemais.*

Whilest King Richard stayed in Cyprus, the siege of Ptolemais went on: and though the French King thought with a running pull to bear the citie away, yet he found it staked down too fast for all his strength to stirre.

Mean time, the plague and famine raged in the Christians camp; which the last yeare swept away fiftie Princes and Prelates of note: Who, no doubt, went hence to a happie place, though it was before Pope Clement the sixth\*commanded the angels ( who durst not but obey him ) presently to convey all their souls into Paradise which should die in their Pilgrimage.

\*Chemitius,  
ex ireselo,  
Exam. Conc.  
Trid. tract.  
De Indulg.

This mortalitie notwithstanding, the siege still continued. And now the Christians and Turks, like two fensers long playing together, were so well acquainted with the blows and guards each of other, that what advantage was taken betwixt them was merely casuall, never for want of skill, care, or valour on either side. It helped the Christians not a little, that a concealed Christian within the citie, with letters un subscribed with any name, gave them constant and faithfull intelligence of the remarkable passages amongst the Turks.

No Prince in this siege deserved more then Leopoldus Duke of Austria; who fought so long in assaulting this citie, till his armour was all over gore bloud, save the place covered with his belt. \* Whereupon he and his successours the Dukes of Austria, renouncing the six Golden larks, their ancient arms, had assigned them by the Emperour a fesse Argent in a field Gules, as the paternall coat of their family.

\* Pantal. De  
illustribus  
Germanie,  
part. 2. pag.  
201.

By this time King Richard was arrived (taking as he came a dromond, or Saracen ship, wherein were fifteen hundred souldiers, and two hundred and fiftie\* scorpions, which were to be employed in the poisoning of Christians) and now the siege of Ptolemais more fiercely prosecuted. But all their engines made not so wide a breach in that citie walls, as envie made betwixt the French and English Kings. Yet at last the Turks despairing of succour, their victuals wholly spent, yeelded up the citie by Saladines consent, on condition to be themselves safely guarded out of it: all Christian prisoners Saladine had were to be set free, and the Crosse to be again restored.

\* Matth.  
Paris. in an.  
no 1191.

The houses which were left, with the spoil and prisoners, were equally divided betwixt Philip and Richard. Whereat many Noble-men, partners in the pains, no sharers in the gains, departed

Anno  
Dom.  
1191

June  
8.

July  
13.

Anno  
Dom.  
123

departed in \* discontent. Some Turks for fear embraced the Christian faith, but quickly returned to their \* vomit: as religion died in fear, never long keepeth colour, but this dayes converts will be to morrows apostates. Hereupon it was commanded that none hereafter should be baptized against their wills.

Here the English cast down the ensignes of Leopoldus Duke of Austria, which he had advanced in a principall towre in Ptolemais; and as some say, threw them into the jakes. The Duke, though angrie at heart, forgot this injurie till he could remember it with advantage; and afterwards made King Richard pay soundly for this affront. It is not good to exasperate any, though farre inferiour: for, as the fable telleth us, the beetle may annoy the eagle, and the mouse befriend the lion.

When the citie was taken, it grieved the Christians not a little that their faithfull \* correspondent, who advised them by his letters, could no where be found: Pitié it was that Rahabs red lace was not tied at his window. But indeed it was probable that he was dead before the surrendring of the citie. Greater was the grief that the Crosse did no where appear, either carelessly lost, or enviously concealed by the Turks. Whilest the Christians stormed hereat, Saladine required a longer respite for the performance of the conditions. But King Richard would not enlarge him from the strictnesse of what was concluded; conceiving this was in effect to forfeit the victorie back again. Besides, he knew he did it onely to gain time to fetch new breath: and if he yeelded to him, his bounty had not been thanked, but his fear upbraided, as if he durst not denie him. Yea, in anger King Richard commanded all the Turkish captives which were in his hands, \* seven thousand in number, to be put to death (except sonie choice persons) on that day whereon the articles should have been but were not performed. For which fact he suffered much in his repute, branded with rashnesse and crueltie, as the murderer of many Christians: For Saladine in revenge put as many of our captives to death. On the other side the moderation of the French King was much commended, who reserving his prisoners alive, exchanged them to ranfome so many Christians.

123  
\* Roger Hou-  
den, in Rich.  
1<sup>o</sup>. pag. 696.  
\* Fox, Mar-  
tyrol. pag.  
245.

\* Hoveden,  
in Rich. 1<sup>o</sup>.  
pag. 694.

\* P. Amyli-  
us, in Philip-  
po Augusto,  
pag. 174. But  
Matthew  
Paris saith  
but 2600.

## Chap. 9.

*The unseasonable return of the King of France.*

MEan time the Christians were rent asunder with faction: Philip the French King, Odo Duke of Burgundie, Leopold Duke of Austria, most of the Dutch, all the Genoans and Templars siding with King Conrade; King Richard, Henry Count of Champagne, the Hospitallers, Venetians, and Pisans taking part with King Guy. But King Conrades side was much weakened with the sudden departure of the French King; who eighteen dayes after the taking of Ptolemais returned home, pretending want of necessaries, indisposition of body, distemper of the climate, though the greatest distemper was in his own passions. The true cause of his departure was, partly envie, because the sound of King Richards fame was of so deep a note that it drowned his; partly \* covetousnesse, to seise on the dominions of the Earl of Flanders lately dead; Flanders lying fitly to make a stable for the fair palace of France. If it be true what \* some report, that Saladine bribed him to return, let him for ever forfeit the surname of Augustus, and the style of The most Christian Prince.

His own souldiers dissuaded him from returning, beseeching him not to stop in so glorious a race, wherein he was newly started: Saladine was already on his knees, and would probably be brought on his face, if pursued. If he played the unthrif with this golden occasion, let him not hope for another to play the good husband with. If povertie forced his departure, King Richard \* profered him the half of all his provisions.

All would not do, Philip persisted in his old plea, How the life of him absent would be more advantageous to the cause, then the death of him present; and by importunitie got leave to depart, solemnly swearing not to molest the King of Englands dominions.

Thus the King of France returned in person, but remained still behind in his instructions, which he left (with his armie) to the Duke of Burgundie; to whom he prescribed both his path and his pace, where and how he should go. And that Duke moved slowly, having no desire to advance the work where King Richard would carrie all the honour. For in those actions wherein severall undertakers are compounded together, commonly the first figure for matter of credit maketh ciphres of all the rest. As for King Philip; being returned home, such was the itch of his ambition, he must be fingering of the King

\* Matthew Paris, pag. 120.

\* Speed, out of Hoveden, in Richard the first.

\* Matth. Paris, in Richardo 1<sup>o</sup>, pag. 219.

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of Englands territories, though his hands were bound by oath to the contrary.

## Chap. 10.

*Conrade King of Jerusalem slain: Guy exchangeth his Kingdome for the Island of Cyprus.*

Apr. 27.

ABOUT the time of the King of France his departure, Conrade King of Jerusalem was murdered in the \* marketplace of Tyre; and his death is variously reported. Some charged our King Richard for procuring it: And though the beams of his innocence cleared his own heart, yet could they not dispell the clouds of suspicions from other mens eyes. Some say Humphred Prince of Thoron killed him, for taking Isabella his wife away from him. But the generall voice giveth it out that two Assassines stabbed him; whose quarrel to him was onely this, That he was a Christian. These murderers being instantly put to death, \* gloried in the meritoriousnesse of their suffering: and surely were it the punishment not the cause made martyrdom, we should be best stored with Confessours from gaols, and Martyrs from the gallows.

Conrade reigned five yeares, and left one daughter, Maria Iole, on whom the Knight-Templars bestowed princely education. And this may serve for his Epitaph,

*The Crown I never did enjoy alone;  
Of half a Kingdome I was half a King.  
Scarce was I on, when I was off the throne;  
Slain by two slaves me basely murdering.*

*And thus the best mans life at mercie lies  
Of vilest varlets, that their own despise.*

His faction survived after his death, affronting Guy the anti-King, and striving to depose him. They pleaded that the Crown was tied on Guy's head with a womans fillet, which being broken by the death of his wife Queen Sibyll ( who deceased of the plague with her \* children at the siege of Ptolemais ) he had no longer right to the Kingdome; they objected he was a worthlesse man, and unfortunate. On the other side, it was alledged for him, that to measure a mans worth by his successe, is a square often false, alwayes uncertain. Besides, the courtesie of the world would allow him this favour, That a King should be *semel & semper*, once and ever.

R 3

Whilest

\* Roger Hoveden, in Richardo 1<sup>o</sup>, pag. 716. saith, on the Calends of May; but Sabellicus putteth it sooner.

\* Amylius in Phil. Augusto, pag. 179.

\* Roger Hoveden, in Richardo 1<sup>o</sup>, pag. 685.

Whilest Guy stood on these ticklish terms, King Richard made a seasonable motion, which well relished to the palate of this hungrie Prince, To exchange his Kingdome of Jerusalem for the Island of Cyprus; which he had redeemed from the Templars, to whom he had pawned it: And this was done accordingly to the content of both sides. And King Richard with some of his succeeding English Kings wore the title of \* Jerusalem in their style for many yeares after. We then dismiss King Guy, hearing him thus taking his farewell;

*I steer'd a state warre-toft against my will;  
Blame then the storm, not th' Pilots want of skill,  
That I the Kingdome lost, whose emptie style  
I sold to Englands King for Cyprus Isle.  
I pass'd away the land I could not hold;  
Good ground I bought, but onely aire I sold.  
Then as a happy Merchant may I sing,  
Though I must sigh as an unhappy King.*

Soon after, Guy made a second change of this world for another. But the family of the Lusignans have enjoyed Cyprus some hundred yeares: and since by some transactions it fell to the state of Venice; and lately by conquest, to the Turks.

Chap. II.

*Henry of Champagne chosen King; The noble achievements and victories of King Richard.*

Conrade being killed and Guy gone away, Henry Earl of Champagne was chosen King of Jerusalem by the especiall procuring of King Richard his uncle. To corroborate his election by some right of succession, he married Isabella, the widow of King Conrade and daughter to Almerick King of Jerusalem. A Prince (as writers report) having a sufficient stock of valour in himself, but little happie in expressing it; whether for want of opportunitie, or shortnesse of his reigne, being most spent in a truce. He more pleased himself in the style of Prince of Tyre then King of Jerusalem; as counting it more honour to be Prince of what he had, then King of what he had not.

And now the Christians began every where to build: The Templars fortified Gaza; King Richard repaired and walled Ptolemais, Porphyria, Joppa, and Askelon. But alas! this short prosperity, like an Autumne-spring, came too late and was gone too soon to bring any fruit to maturitie.

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\* Sabell.  
Ann. 9. lib. 5.  
pag. 378.

Ann.  
Dom.  
w

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Sept.  
Calvi-  
sius.

It was now determined they should march towards Jerusalem: for all this while they had but hit the butt; that Holy citie was the mark they shot at. Richard led the vanguard of English; Duke Odo commanded in the main battel over his French; James of Avergne brought on the Flemings and Brabanters in the rere. Saladine, serpent-like biting the heel, assaulted the rere, not farre from Bethlehém; when the French and English wheeling about, charged the Turks most furiously. Emulation, formerly poyson, was here a cordiall, each Christian nation striving not onely to conquer their enemies, but to overcome their friends in the honour of the conquest. King Richard seeking to put his courage out of doubt, brought his judgement into question, being more prodigall of his person then becomed a Generall. One \* wound he received, but by losing his blood he found his spirits, and laid about him like a mad-man. The Christians got the victory, without the losse of any of number or note, save James of Avergne, who here died in the bed of honour: But more of the Turks were slain then in any battel for fourtie yeares before.

Had the Christians presently gone to Jerusalem, probably they might have surpris'd it, whilst the Turks eyes were muffled and blindfolded in the amabement of this great overthrow. But this opportunitie was lost by the backwardnesse and unwillingnesse of King Richard and the English, say the \* French writers. To criticise with them, our \* English authors impute it to the envie of the French; who would have so glorious an action rather left undone; then done by the English. They complain likewise of the treacherie of Odo Duke of Burgundie, who more carefull of his credit then his conscience, was choked with the shame of the sinne he had swallowed, and died for grief, when his intelligence with the Turks was made known. This cannot be denied, that Saladine sent (term them bribes or presents) both to our King and the French Duke, and they received them: no wonder then if neither of them herein had a good name, when they traded with such familiars. But most hold King Richard attempted not Jerusalem, because as a wise architect, he would build his victories so as they might stand, securing the countrey as he went; it being senselesse to besiege Jerusalem a straggling citie, whilst the Turks as yet were in possession of all the sea-ports and strong forts thereabout.

About this time he intercepted many camels loaden with rich commoditie, those Eastern wares containing much in a little. And yet of all this, and of all the treasures of England, Sicilie, and Cyprus which he brought hither, King Richard carried home nothing but one \* gold-ring: all the rest of his wealth

\* P. Empl.  
in Phil. Au-  
gusto, pag. 180

\* P. Empl.  
ibidem.  
\* Matth. Pa-  
ris. in Ri-  
chards 1<sup>o</sup>.  
pag. 216.

\* P. Empl.  
pag. 181.  
Excerpto hoc  
nunc in an-  
das inscriptum.



wealth melted away in this hot service. He wintered in Askelon, intending next spring to have at Jerusalem.

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Chap. 12.

*The little-honourable peace King Richard made with Saladin; Of the value of Reliques.*

**B**UT bad news out of Europe shaked his steadiest resolutions, hearing how William Bishop of Ely, his Vice-roy in England, used unsufferable insolencies over his subjects: So hard it is for one of base parentage to personate a King without over-acting his part. Also he heard how the King of France and John Earl of Morton his own brother, invaded his dominions; ambition, the Pope in their belly, dispensing with their oath to the contrary. Besides, he saw this warre was not a subject capable of valour to any purpose; the Venetians, Genoans, Pisans and Florentines being gone away with their fleets, wisely shrinking themselves out of the collar, when they found their necks wrung with the hard employment. Hereupon he was forced first to make the motion of (in plain terms, to begge) peace of Saladin.

Let Saladin now alone to winne, having all the game in his own hand. Well knew he how to shoot at his own ends, and to take aim by the exigencies wherein he knew King Richard was plunged. For he had those cunning gypsies about him, who could read in King Richards face what grieved his heart; and by his intelligencers was certified of every note-worthy passage in the English armies. Upon these terms therefore or none (beggars of peace shall never be choosers of their conditions) a truce for three (some say, five) yeares might be concluded, That the Christians should demolish all places they had walled since the taking of Ptolemais, which was in effect to undo what with much charge they had done. But such was the tyrannie of King Richards occasions, forcing him to return, that he was glad to embrace those conditions he hated at his heart.

Thus the voyage of these two Kings, begun with as great confidence of the undertakers as expectation of the beholders, continued with as much courage as interchangeableness of success, baned with mutuall discord & emulation, was ended with some honour to the undertakers, no \* profit either to them or the Christian cause. Some farre-fetched deare-bought honour they got, especially King Richard, who eternized his memory in Asia: whom if men forget, horses will remember; the Turks using

\* P. Emyl.  
pag. 181.  
Tanto duorum regum  
comare nihil  
actum.

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using to say to their horses when they started for fear, Dost thou think King Richard is here? Profit they got none, losing both of them the hair of their heads in an acute disease, which was more, saith \* one, then both of them got by the voyage.

They left the Christians in Syria in worse case then they found them: as he doeth the benighted traveller a discourtesie rather then a kindnesse, who lendeth him a lantern to take it away, leaving him more masked then he was before.

And now a little to solace my self and the reader with a merry digression, after much sorrow and sad stories; King Richard did one thing in Palestine which was worth all the cost and pains of his journey, namely, He redeemed from the Turks a chest full of holy Reliques (which they had gotten at the taking of Jerusalem) so great, as \* foure men could scarce carry any way. And though some know no more then Esops cock how to prize these pearls, let them learn the true value of them from the Romane jewellers. First, they must carefully distinguish between publick and private Reliques: In private ones some forgery may be suspected, lest *quid* be put for *quo*; which made S. \* Augustine put in that wary parenthesis, *Si tamen Martirum*, If so be they be the Reliques of Martyrs. But as for publick ones approved by the Pope, and kept in Churches (such no doubt as these of King Richards were) oh let no Christian be such an infidel as to stagger at the truth thereof! If any object, That the head of the same Saint is shewed at severall places; the whole answer is by a \* Synecdoche, That a part is put for the whole. As for the common exception against the Crosse, That so many severall pieces thereof are shown, which put together would break the back of Simon of Cyrene to bear them; it is answered, *Distrahitur, non diminuitur*, and like the loaves in the Gospel, it is miraculously multiplied in the dividing. If all these fail, \* Baronius hath a rasour shaveth all scruple clear away: For, saith he, *Quicquid sit, fides purgat facinus*; So that he worshippeth the false Reliques of a true Saint, God taketh his good intention in good worth, though he adore the hand of Esau for the hand of Jacob. But enough of these fooleries.

\* Daniel,  
pag. 100.

\* Matth. Pa-  
ris in Rich. 1.  
pag. 222.

\* In lib. De  
oper. Mon.  
cap. 28.

\* Bellarm. De  
Reliq. cap. 4.

\* Annal. Eccl.  
in anno 216.

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Chap.



## Chap. 13.

*King Richard taken prisoner in Austria; sold  
and sent to the Emperour; dearly ransomed,  
returneth home.*

King Richard setting sail from Syria, the sea and wind favoured him till he came into the Adriatick; and on the coasts of Istria he suffered shipwrack: Wherefore he intended to pierce through Germanie by land, the next way home. But the narrowness of the way is to be measured not by the shortness but the safeness of it.

He disguised himself to be one Hugo a merchant, whose only commodity was himself, whereof he made but a bad bargain. For he was discovered in an inn in Austria, because he disguised his person not his expenses; so that the very policie of an hostesse, finding his purse so farre above his clothes, did detect him: Yea, faith mine Authour, *Facies orbi terrarum nota, ignorari non potuit*. The rude people flocking together, used him with insolencies unworthy him, worthy themselves: and they who would shake at the fall of this loose Lion, durst laugh at his face now they saw him in a grate. Yet all the weight of their cruelty did not bow him beneath a Princely carriage.

Leopoldus Duke of Austria hearing hereof, as being Lord of the soil, seized on this Royall stray; meaning now to get his penny-worths out of him, for the affront done unto him in Palestine.

Not long after the Duke sold him to Henry the Emperour, for his harsh nature surnamed *Asper*; and it might have been *severus*, being but one degree from a tyrant. He kept King Richard in bands, charging him with a thousand faults committed by him in Sicilie, Cyprus, and Palestine. The proofs were as slender as the crimes grosse; and Richard having an eloquent tongue, innocent heart, and bold spirit, acquitted himself in the judgement of all the hearers. At last he was \*ransomed for an hundred and forty thousand marks, Collen weight. A summe so vast in that age, before the Indies had overflowed all Europe with their gold and silver, that to raise it in England they were forced to sell their Church-plate to their very chalices. Whereupon out of most deep Divinity it was concluded, That they should not celebrate the Sacrament in \* glasse, for the brittleness of it; nor in wood, for the sponginess of it, which would suck up the blood; nor in alchymie, because it was subject to rusting; nor in copper, because that would provoke vom-

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Octo.  
8.

Dec.  
20.

Dec.  
20.

\* Matth. Pa-  
ris in Rich. 1.

\* Lindwood,  
lib. 1. De  
summa Tri.  
fol. 6.

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miting; but in chalices of latten, which belike was a metall without exception. And such were used in England for some \* hundred yeares after: untill at last John Stafford Archbishop of Canterbury, when the land was more replenished with silver, inknotteth that Priest in the greater excommunication that should consecrate *Poculum stanneum*. After this money \* Peter of Bloys (who had drunk as deep of Helicon as any of that age) sendeth this good prayer; making an apostrophe to the Emperour, or to the Duke of Austria, or to both together:

*Bibe nunc, avaritia,  
Dum puteos argenteos  
Larga diffundis Anglia.  
Tua tecum pecunia  
Sit in perditionem.*

And now, thou basest avarice,  
Drink till thy belly burst,  
Whilst England poures large silver showres  
To satiate thy thirst.  
And this we pray, Thy money may  
And thou be like accurst.

The ransome partly payed, the rest secured by hostages, King Richard much befriended by the Dutch Prelacie, after eighteen months imprisonment returned into England. The Archbishop of Cullen in the presence of King Richard, as he passed by, brought in these words in saying masse, *Now I know that God hath sent his angel, and hath delivered thee out of the hand of Herod, and from the expectation of the people, &c.* But his soul was more healthfull for this bitter physick, and he amended his manners; better loving his \* Queen Beringaria, whom he slighted before: As souldiers too often love women better then wives.

Leave we him now in England, where his presence fixed the loyalty of many of his unsettled subjects; whilest in Austria the Duke with his money built the walls of Vienna: So that the best stones and mortar of that bulwark of Christendome are beholden to the English coin. We must not forget how Gods judgements overtook this Duke, punishing his dominions with fire and water, which two elements cannot be Kings but they must be tyrants; by famine, the eares of wheat turned into worms; by a gangrene, seising on the Dukes body, who cut off his leg with his own hand, and died thereof: Who by his testament (if not by his will) caused some thousand crowns to be restored again to King Richard.

\* Eulogium;  
a Chronicle  
cited by Fox,  
Martyrol. in  
Rich. 1.  
\* Epi. 57.

\* Speed, in  
Rich. 1.

## Chap. 14.

*The death of Saladine; His commendation, even with truth, but almost above belief.*

Soon after, Saladine the terrour of the East ended his life, 1193  
Febr.  
16. having reigned sixteen yeares. Consider him as a man, or a Prince, he was both wayes admirable.

Many Historians (like some painters, which rather shew their skill in drawing a curious face then in making it like to him whom it should resemble) describe Princes rather what they should be then what they were; not shewing so much their goodnesse as their own wits. But finding this Saladine so generally commended of all writers, we have no cause to distrust this his true character.

His wisdom was great, in that he was able to advise; and greater, in that he was willing to be advised: Never so wedded to his own resolves, but on good ground he would be divorced from them. His valour was not over-free, but would well answer the spurre when need required. In his victories he was much beholden to the advantage of season, place, and number; and seldome wrestled the garland of honour from an arm as strong as his own. He ever marched in person into the field, remembering that his predecessours, the Caliphs of Egypt, brake themselves by using Factours, and imploying of Souldans. His temperance was great, diet sparing, sleep moderate, not to pamper nature, but keep it in repair. His greatest recreation was variety and exchange of work. Pleasures he rather sipped then drank off; sometimes, more to content others then please himself. Wives he might have kept sans number, but stinted himself to one or two; using them rather for posterity then wantonnesse. His justice to his own people was remarkable; his promise with his enemies generally well kept. Much he did triumph in mercy: Fierce in fighting, mild in conquering; and having his enemies in his hand, pleased himself more in the power then act of revenge. His liberality would have drained his treasure, had it not had a great and quick spring, those Eastern parts being very rich. Serviceable men he would purchase on any rate; and sometimes his gifts bare better proportion to his own greatnesse then the receivers deserts. Vast bribes he would give to have places betrayed unto him, and often effected that with his gold which he could not do with his steel. Zealous he was in his own religion, yet not violent against Christians *quæ* Christians. Scholarship cannot be expected

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pected in him who was a Turk by his birth (amongst whom it is a sinne to be learned) and a souldier by breeding. His humility was admirable; as being neither ignorant of his greatnesse, nor over-knowing it. He provided to have no solemnities at his funerals; and ordered that before his corpse a black cloth should be carried on the top of a spear, and this proclaimed, *\* Saladine Conquerour of the East had nothing left him but this black shirt to attend him to the grave.*

Some entitle him as descended from the Royall Turkish blood: Which flattering Heralds he will little thank for their pains; counting it most honour, that he being of mean parentage, was the first founder of his own Nobility. His stature (for one of that nation) was tall. His person rather cut out to strike fear then winne love; yet could he put on amiablenesse when occasion required, and make it besseem him. To conclude; I will not be so bold, to do with him as an Eastern *\* Bilhop* doth with Plato and Plutarch, whom he commendeth in a Greek hymn to Christ, as those that came nearest to holinesse of all untaught Gentiles: (Belike he would be our Saviours remembrancer, and put him in mind to take more especiall notice of them at the day of judgement.) But I will take my farewell of Saladine with that commendation I find of him, *\* He wanted nothing to his eternall happinesse, but the knowledge of Christ.*

\* Sabell. Enn.  
9. lib. 5. pag.  
378.

\* Joan. Eusebius, jampriem  
Etonie Græc  
edim.

\* Sabell. Enn.  
9. lib. 5. pag.  
378.

## Chap. 15.

*Discords amongst the Turks; The miserable death of Henry King of Jerusalem.*

Saladine left nine (some say, twelve) sonnes, making Saphradine his brother overseer of his will: Who of a tutor turned a traitour, and murdered them all excepting one, called also Saphradine, Sultan of Aleppo; who, not by his uncles pity, but by the favour and support of his fathers good friends was preserved. Hence arose much intestine discord amongst the Turks; all which time the Christians enjoyed their truce with much quiet and security.

Not long after, Henry King of Jerusalem, as he was *\* walking* in his palace to solace himself, fell down out of a window, and brake his neck. He reigned three yeares. But as for the particular time he died on, I find it not specified in any Authour.

\* Continuator  
Hisp. in anno  
1196. Et M.  
Paris. in co-  
dem.

*Almerick the second, King of Ierusalem; The great armie of the Dutch adventurers doeth little in Syria.*

After his death, Almerick Lusignan, brother to King Guy, was in the right of his wife crowned King of Ierusalem: For he married Isabella the Relict of Henry the last King. This Lady was foure times married: first, to Humphred Prince of Thorone; then to the three successeive Kings of Ierusalem, Conrade, Henry, and this Almerick. He was also King of Cyprus; and the Christians in Syria promised themselves much aid from the vicinity of that Island. But though he was neare to them, he was farre from helping them, making pleasure all his work; being an idle, lazy, worthlesse Prince. But I trespasse on that politick rule, Of Princes we must speak the best, or the least; if that be not intended, when the truth is so late that danger is entailed upon it.

In his time, Henry Emperour of Germany, indicted by his conscience for his cruelty against King Richard, seeking to perfume his name in the nostrils of the world, which began to be unfavourie, set on foot another voyage to the Holy land. Pope Celestine the third sent his Legates about to promote this service, shewing how God himself had founded the alarm by the dissension of the Turks: Ierusalem now might be wonne with the blows of her enemies; onely an army must be sent, not so much to conquer as to receive it. Generall of the Pilgrimes was Henry Duke of Saxony; next him, Frederick Duke of Austria, Herman Landtgrave of Thuringia, Henry Palatine of Rhene, Conrade Archbishop of Mentz, Conrade Archbishop of Wirtzburg, the Bishops of Breme, Halberstadt, & Regenspurg, with many more Prelates; so that here was an Episcopall army, which might have served for a nationall Synod: Inſomuch that one truly might here have seen the Church Militant. We have no ambition, saith \* one of their countrey-men, to reckon them up; for they were *plurimi & nulli*, many in number, none in their actions.

Some of these souldiers were employed by Henry the Emperour (who knew well to bake his cake with the Churches feul) to subdue his rebels in Apulia. This done, they passed through Grecia, and found there better entertainment then some of their predeceffours. Hence by shipping they were conveyed into Syria: Here they brake the \* truce made by King Richard,

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\* Hist. Chron. in anno 1197. pag. 304.

\* Hist. ut prius.

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Richard, (it seemeth by this, it was the 11<sup>th</sup> five yeares) the Pope dispensing therewith; who can make a peace, nets to hold others, but a cobweb for himself to break through. The citie Berytus they quickly wanne, and as quickly lost. For Henry the Emperour suddenly died, the root which nourished this voyage, and then the branches withered. Henry also Duke of Saxony, Generall of this army, was slain. And Conrade Archbishop of Mentz, one of the Electours, would needs return home to the choice of a new Emperour, knowing he could more profitably use his voice in Germany then his arms in Syria. Other Captains secretly stole home; and when their souldiers would have fought, their \* Captains ran away. And whereas in other Expeditions we find *vestigia pauca retrorsum*, making such clean work that they left little or no reverſions; of this voyage many safely returned home with whole bodies and wounded credits.

The rest that remained fortified themselves in Joppa. And now the feast of S. Martin was come, the Dutch their Arch-Saint. This man being a Germane by birth, and Bishop of Tours in France, was eminent for his \* hospitality; and the Dutch badly imitating their countrey-man, turn his charity to the poore into riot on themselves, keeping the eleventh of November. (I will not say holy-day, but) feast-day. At this time the spring-tide of their mirth so drowned their souls, that the \* Turks coming in upon them, cut every one of their throats, to the number of twenty thousand: and quickly they were stabbed with the sword that were cup-shot before. A day which the Dutch may well write in their Kalendars in red letters died with their own bloud; when their camp was their shambles, the Turks their butchers, and themselves the Martinmasse-beeves: from which the beastly drunkards differ but a little.

The citie of Joppa the Turks rased to the ground; and of this victory they became so proud, that they had thought without stop to have driven the Christians quite out of Syria. But by the coming of \* Simon Count of Montford (a most valiant and expert Captain, sent thither by Philip the French King with a regiment of tall souldiers, at the instance of Innocent the third, that succeeded Celestine in the Papacy) and by civil discord then reigning amongst the Turks themselves for sovereignty, their fury was repressed, and a peace betwixt them and the Christians concluded for the space of \* ten yeares: During which time the Turks promised not to molest the Christians in Tyre or Ptolemais. Which peace so concluded, the worthy Count returned with his souldiers into France.

\* Baron. Annal. Eccles. in anno 1197.

\* Pant. De vir. illust. Germ. in vita S. Martini.

\* Knoll. Turk. Hist. pag. 74.

\* Magdeburgensis, Cent. 12. cap. 16. sub finem.

\* Knoll, ut prius.

1198

1199

Chap.

*A Crusado for the Holy land diverted by the Pope to Constantinople ; They conquer the Grecian Empire.*

**T**His truce notwithstanding, another armie of Pilgrimes was presently provided for Syria: The Tetrarchs whereof were Baldwin Earl of Flanders, Dandolo the Venetian Duke, Theobald Earl of Champagne, Boniface Marquesse of Montferrat, with many other Nobles.

Leave we them a while taking the citie of Jadera in Istria for the Venetians. Mean time if we look over into Greece, we shall find Isaac Angelus the Emperour deposed, thrust into prison, his eyes put out (the punishment there in fashion) so that he ended his dayes before he ended his life, by the cruelty of Alexius Angelus his brother, who succeeded him.

But young Alexius, Isaac Angelus his sonne, with some Grecian Noble-men, came to the courts of most Western Princes to beg assistance to free his father and expell the tyrant. He so deputed himself, that each gesture was a net to catch mens good will ; not seeking their favour by losing himself, but though he did bow, he would not kneel : so that in his face one might reade a pretty combat betwixt the beams of majesty and cloud of adversity. To see a Prince in want, would move a misers charity. Our Western Princes tendered his case, which they counted might be their own ; their best right lying at the mercy of any stronger usurper. Young Alexius so dressed his meat, that he pleased every mans palate ; promising for their succours to disingage the French from their debts to the Venetian ; promising the Venetian satisfaction for the wrongs done them by the Grecians ; and bearing the Pope in hand he would reduce the Eastern Churches into his subjection : things which he was little \* able to perform. But well may the statute of Bankrupt be sued out against him who cannot be rich in promises. These his fair proffers prevailed so farre, that the Pope commanded, and other Princes consented, that this army of Pilgrimes levied for the Holy land, should be employed against the usurping Grecian Emperour. Many taxed his Holiness for an unjust steward of the Christian forces, to expend them against the Grecians, which were to be laid out against the Infidels : Especially now when Palestine, through the dissension of the Turks, offered it self into the Christians arms to be regained. Others thought the Pope took the right method ; because

\* Nicetas.

he

he which should winne Jerusalem must begin at Constantinople : And by this warre the Grecian Empire, which was the bridge to Syria, would be made good, and secured for the passage of Pilgrimes. The souldiers generally rejoyced at the exchange of their service : for the barren warres in Syria starved the undertakers ; and a cook himself cannot lick his fingers where no meat is dressed. There nothing but naked honour was to be gotten, here honour clothed with spoil ; the usurpers treasure would make brave scrambling amongst them : And it was good plowing up of that ground which had long lien fallow.

Setting sail from Jadera (which citie they had subdued to the Venetian, forcing them to pay three thousand \* cony-skins yearly for tribute to that State) like good fensers they strook at the head, and made for Constantinople: Which they quickly took, after some hot skirmishes. Alexius Angelus the usurper, with his wife, whores, and treasure, fled away. Blind Isaac Angelus was fetched out of prison ; he and young Alexius his sonne saluted joynt Emperours. Which brittle honour of theirs was quickly broken : For soon after the father died, being brought into an open place, kept before in a close pent dungeon ; and having long fasted from good aire, he now got his death by surfeiting on it. His sonne was villainously strangled by Alexius Ducas, called from his beetle-brow Murfiphilus: One of base parentage, who was tumultuously chosen Emperour by the people. This Ducas offered some affronts to the Latines which lay before Constantinople in their ships. Wherefore, and also because they were not payed for their former service, they the second time assaulted the citie, and took it by main force ; killing none, but robbing all, ravishing women, and using a thousand insolencies. Some fled for their succour to the shrines of Saints : But the Sanctuaries needed sanctuaries to protect themselves ; the souldiers as little respecting place, as formerly age or sex : not standing on any reverence to the Saints, they stood upon them, making footstools of their images and statues.

Nicetas Choniates, hitherto an historian, now a plaintiff, (writing so full of ohs and exclamations as if the while pinched by the arm) rather without measure then cause bemoneth the outrages the Latines here committed. Poore man ! all the miseries our Saviour speaketh of in a siege, met in him : His flight from Constantinople was in the winter, on the \* Sabbath-day, his wife being great with child. But when the object is too neare the eye, it seemeth greater then it is : and perchance he amplifieth and aggravateth the cruelty of these Pilgrimes, being nearly interessed therein himself ; especially when the rhetoric

\* Blondus,  
lib. 6. Decad.  
2. pag. 270.

\* In libello  
cui titulus  
Status Con-  
stantinopolis.  
§. 1. pag. 637.

T

rick

138

\* Servorum  
hic dies est,  
Lipf. lib. 1.  
Saturn. cap. 3.

rick of grief is alwayes in the *Hyperbole*. Nor is it any news for souldiers to be so insolent when they take a citie by assault: which time is their \* *Saturnalia*, when servants themselves do command, acknowledging no other leader or captain then their own passions.

Within a twelve-moneth all Greece was subdued save onely Adrianople: Baldwin Earl of Flanders chosen Emperour; Thomas Maurocenus elected first Latine Patriarch in Constantinople; Boniface Marquess of Montferrat made King of Thessalie; Geoffrey of Troy, a Frenchman, Prince of Achaia and Duke of Athens: the Venetians got many rich Islands in the Egean and Ionian seas: So that one could not now see the Grecian Empire for Empires. It was now expected that they should have advanced hence into Palestine: But here having well feathered their nests, they were loth to flie any further. And now no wonder if the Christians affairs in Palestine were weak and lean, the Pope diverting the meat that should feed them another way.

## Chap. 18.

*The Pope sendeth an armie of Croises against the Albingenses. Three severall opinions concerning that sect.*

Pope Innocent the third having lately learned the trick of employing the armie of Pilgrimes in by-services, began now to set up a trade thereof. For two yeares after he levied a great number of them, whom he sent against the Albingenses in France. These were reputed hereticks, whom his Holinesse intended to root out with all crueltie: that good shepherd knowing no other way to bring home a wandring sheep then by worrying him to death. He fully and freely promised the undertakers the self-same Pardons and Indulgences as he did to those who went to conquer the Holy land; and very conscionably requested their aid onely for fourty dayes, hoping to chop up these Albingenses at a bit. Though herein he was deceived, and they stuck in his and his successours teeth for fifty yeares together. The place being nearer, the service shorter, the work lesse, the wages the same with the voyage into Syria, many entred themselves in this employment, and neglected the other.

We will trace this armie by their footsteps, and our penne must

Anno  
Dom.  
1204

Apr.  
24.  
crowned  
May  
16.

1206

Anno  
Dom.  
1206

mult wait on their swords. And I hope that his Holinesse, who absolved many of their vows from Palestine, and commured them into a journey into France, will also of his goodnesse dispense with my venial digression herein, in prosecuting their actions. Yea, indeed, I need not his dispensation, being still resident on my own subject, this also being styled, The Holy warre, The warre for the Crucifix, The army of the Church; the souldiers also bearing the badge of the Crosse on their coat-armour.

But first let us thoroughly examine what these Albingenses were, and what they held: a question that will quit the cost in studying it.

They were a younger house of the Waldenses, and branched from them; not different in doctrine, but later in time, and distant in place: so called from the countrey Albigeois in France, where they lived.

I find three grand different opinions of Authours concerning them:

First, Some make them to have been very monsters in life and doctrine; so that the heaviest punishment was too light for them. And this is the generall voyce of most writers in that age, and all Romanists in our dayes.

Secondly, Others clean contrary hold, That these Waldenses (for I make them and the Albingenses *synonyms*, as \* others have done) were onely the true Church of God in that age, whilst all others being corrupted with abominable superstition, were no true Church at all. These alone were Gods Virgins, his Witnesses in sackcloth, his Woman in the wilderness, his sealed ones, his seven thousand whose knees were not suppled with the Baalism of that age. This is the expresse opinion of some strict Protestants; and of some who speak it not out, yet mutter it to themselves.

Thirdly, A third sort \* explode this opinion, as trespassing on Divine providence; that God who neither slumbereth nor sleepe, should be in so long a lethargie as to suffer hell to eat up his heaven on earth for so many yeares together, leaving no true Church but so small a company of such simple people. They conceive that the maintainers hereof engage themselves in a labyrinth of difficulties, hanging too great a weight on so slender a string, in making such an handfull of men the onely Church for so long continuance. More moderately therefore they hold, That these Albingenses were a purer part of the Church; and though guilty of some errors (as there must be a dawning before the day) and charged with more, yet they maintained the same \* doctrine in ore, which since Luthers time was refined: So that the main body of the Church visible at

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\* Jo Paul.  
Perin. De  
Albing. lib. 1.  
cap. 1.

\* Dr Field, Of  
the Church,  
lib. 3. cap 8.

We acknow-  
ledge them  
(viz. Wick-  
liff, Husle,  
Hierome of  
Prague, &c.)  
to have been  
the worthy  
servants of  
God, and ho-  
ly Marys &  
Confessours,  
suffering in  
the cause of  
Christ against  
Antichrist;  
yet do we not  
think that the  
Church of  
God was  
found onely  
in them.

\* Dr White, in  
his Repl. to  
Fisher, pag.  
104, 105.  
The Wal-  
denses main-  
tained the  
same doctrine  
in substance  
with the mo-  
dern Protes-  
tants.

this time was much in dilapidations, whilst the Albingenses, as an innermost chapell thereof, was best in repair.

Let the Reader choose the probablest opion when he hath perused the evidences of all sides; which we will now produce, deducing the historie of these Albingenses from their first originall.

Chap. 19.

*The beginning of the Albingenses; Their dispersion, persecution, increase, names, and nick-names.*

About the yeare 1160, Peter Waldo a merchant of Lyons, rich in substance and learning (for a lay-man) was walking and talking with his friends, when one of them suddenly fell down dead. Which lively spectacle of mans mortality so impressed the soul of this Waldo, that instantly he resolved on a strict reformation of his life: Which to his power he performed; translating some books of the Bible; instructing such as resorted to him in godlinesse of life; teaching withall, That Purgatorie, Masses, dedication of Temples, worshipping of Saints, prayers for the dead, were inventions of the devil, and snares of avarice; That Monckery was a stinking carrion, the Church of Rome the whore of Babylon, the Pope that Antichrist Paramount: He sharply lanced the vitious ulcers of Clergie-mens lives, reproving their pride and luxury. Soon got he many followers, both because novelty is a forcible loadstone, and because he plentifully relieved his poore disciples; and those that use that trade shall never want custome.

The Archbishop of Lyons hearing such doctrines broched as were high treason against the Triple crown, ferreted Waldo and his sectaries out of Lyons and the countrey thereabouts. But persecution is the bellows of their Gospel, to blow every spark into a flame. This their division proved their multiplication. Some fled into the Alpes, living there on so steep hills, and in so deep holes, that their enemies were afraid to climbe or dive after them. Here they had the constant company of the snow: And as it by the height of the hills was protected from the sun-beams, so they from the scorching of persecution, even to Luthers time. Others fled into Picardy, Flanders, England, Alsatia, Bohemia, \* Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungaria, and whither not? the perfume of the Popes presence not keeping this sup-

Anno Dom. 1160

\* Matth. Peris. in Hen. 3. in anno 1123

Anno Dom. 1160

posed vermine out of Italy it self. Many of them were cruelly massacred, five and thirty Burgeses of Mayence burned at Bingen in one fire, eighteen at Mayence, fourescore at Strafsburg at the instance of the Bishop thereof. But Martyrs ashes are the best compost to manure the Church: for others were wonne to their opinion, by beholding their constancie and patience. Strange that any should fall in love with that profession, whose professors were so miserable! But truth hath alwayes a good face, though often but bad clothes.

They were called by sundry names; Sometimes from the places where they lived: As from Albigeois, Tholose, Lyons, Picardy, Bohemia; Albingenses, Tholousians, Lyonists, Picards, Bohemians. Sometimes from their principall pastour: As from Waldo, Joseph, Henry, Esperon, Arnold; Waldenses, Josephists, Henricians, Esperonites, Arnoldists. In England they were termed Lolards, from \* Lolard their teacher; not as some Friar descendant, *quasi Lolium in area Domini*. It appeareth not whether they were thus called of others, or called themselves. But grant the latter: and if any object, That they seemed ashamed of Christ their first godfather, who gave them the name of Christians, thus to denominate themselves from their teachers; I answer, It is the same the Papiists do, calling themselves Benedictines, Dominicanes, Franciscanes, &c. from the founders of their Order.

They had also nick-names; called, First, Poore men of Lyons: not because they chose to be poore, but could not choofe but be poore, being stripped out of all their goods: And why should the Friars glory be this peoples shame? they mocking at poverty in others, which they count meritorious in themselves. Secondly, Patarians; that is, Sufferers, whose backs were anvils for others to beat on. Thirdly, Turlupins; that is, Dwellers with wolves, (and yet might they be Gods sheep) being forced to flee into woods. Fourthly, likewise they were called Sicars; that is, Cut-purses. Fifthly, *Fraterculi*; that is, Shifters. Sixthly, *Insabbathe*; that is, Observers of no sabbath. Seventhly, Palagenes; that is, Wanderers. As also Arians, Manicheans, Adamites (how justly will appear afterwards.) Yea, scarce was there an arrow in all the quiver of malice which was not shot at them.

\* Jo. Paul. Perin. Hist. Waldens. lib. 1. cap. 3.

*The Albingenses their answer, confessing some, denying most crimes laid to their charge; Commendations their adversaries give them.*

\* Reinevius,  
fol. 2. v. 32.

\* Claudius  
Rubin,  
History of  
Lyons, pag.  
169.

\* In his 66.  
Homily on the  
Canticles.

Come we now to the full and foul indictment wherewith these Albingenses are charged: That they gave no reverence to \* holy places; rejected the baptisme of infants; held that temporall power was grounded in grace; that it was a meritorious work to persecute the Priests of Rome and their subjects: With the Adamites they went naked (an affront to nature;) with the Manicheans they made two first causes, God of good, the devil of evil; held community of all things, even of wives amongst them; were \* forcerers and conjurers (pretending to command the devil, when they most obeyed him) guilty of incest, buggery, and more unnaturall sinnes, whereby men (as it were) runne backward to hell.

No whit affrighted with this terrible accusation, many late writers dare be their advocates to defend them, though confessing them guilty of some of these, but not in so high and hainous a manner as they are accused.

True it is, because most in that age ranne riot in adoring of Churches (as if some inherent sanctity was cieled to their roof, or plaistered to their walls; yea, such as might more ingratiate with God the persons and prayers of people there assembled) the Waldenses (out of that old error not yet worn out, That the best way to straighten what is crooked, is to over-bow it) denied Churches that relative holinesse and fit reverence due unto them. Baptisme of infants they refused not (though \* S.

Bernard, taking it rather from the rebound then first rise, chargeth them therewith) but onely deferred it till it might be administered by one of their own Ministers; their tender consciences not digesting the Popish baptisme, where clear water by Gods ordinance, was by mans additions made a false or plaister. That dominion was founded in grace, seemeth to be their very opinion: Yea, it hangeth as yet in the Schools on the file, and is not taken off, as a thing disputable, finding many favourers. But grant it a great error (for wicked men shall be arraigned before God, not as usurpers, but as tyrants; not for not having right, but not right using the creatures) yet herein they proceeded not so farre as the Papiests now-a-days, to unthroned and depose excommunicated Princes: So that they who do most, have least cause to accuse them. That they spoke too homely

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and courselly of the Romish Priests, inveighing too bitterly and uncharitably against them, condemning all for some, may perchance be proved: And no wonder if they spake ill of those from whom they felt ill. But take their speeches herein, as the words of men upon the rack, forced from them by the extremity of cruel usage.

In these errors the Albingenses hope to find favour, if men consider, First, the ignorance of the age they lived in: It is no news to stumble in the dark. Secondly, the frailty (that squire of the body) attending on mans nature; yea, he shall be immortal who liveth till he be stoned by one without fault. Thirdly, the errors themselves, which are rather in the outlimbes then vitalls of religion. And it may be conceived they might have been reclaimed, if used with gentle means, not catechized with fire and fagot; it being a true rule, That mens consciences are more moved with leading then dragging or drawing.

But the sting of the indictment is still behind in the tail or end thereof; charging them with such hainous errors in doctrine, and vices in life: All which the patrones for the defendants \* deny and desie, as coined out of the mint of their enemies malice.

It will be objected, If denying the fact might serve the turn, we should have no malefactours: This therefore is but a poore plea, barely to deny, when that such clouds of witnesses are against them. And grant they have a few straggling writers, or some sleeping records which may seem to acquit them, what are one or two men (though suppose them giants) against a whole army?

To this I find it answered for the Albingenses, That it hath been the constant practice of the Romish writers, alwayes to defame those that differ from them, especially if they handle too roughly the *Noli me tangere* of the Popes supremacy. In later times what aspersions, as false as foul, have \* Cochleus and \* Bolsecus laid on Luther and Calvine? Now how fearelesse will they be to steal at midnight, who dare thus rob men of their good name at noon-day? When such Authours as these lie with a witnesse, yea, with many \* witnesses, who could disprove them; no wonder if they take liberty falsely to accuse the Albingenses, conceiving themselves out of the reach of confusion; writing in such an age when all the Counsel is on their own side, being plaintiffs, and none assigned for the defendants.

Secondly, I find they produce the authentical copies (such as are above their enemies calumnies) of the Catechismes, Apologies, Remonstrances of these Albingenses; wherein the distilled doctrine of the Protestants is delivered free from

Mani-

\* Bishop Jewell,  
Apol. part.  
1. chap. 2.

divis. 1.  
Waldo and  
the rest, for  
ought we  
know, and I

believe (setting  
malice  
aside) for  
ought you

know, were  
godly men.  
Their great-  
est error was

that they  
complained  
of the dissolu-  
ture and vicious  
lives of the  
Clergie.

\* In vita  
Lutheri.  
\* In vita  
Calvini.

\* Solidly con-  
futed by Dr  
Whitaker,  
De unitate &  
ceteris, cap. 15.

Out of Me-  
lancthon,  
Sleidan, Gry-  
neus, Beza,

eye-witnesses



Manicheisme, or any other heresie fathered upon them. Thirdly, their enemies flanders plainly appear in some particulars, which justly shaketh the credit of the whole accusation. For whereas they are charged with the Adamites willingly to have gone naked, we find them rather *nudati* then *nudi*, forced thereunto by the Popes Legate: Who being about to take the city of Carcassone in France, where these people most swarmed, he would not grant them their lives but on this condition, That both males and females should go forth, and passe by his army \* stark-naked. Argued it not a very foul stomach in him who could feed his eyes with contentment on such a sight, which otherwise would more deeply have wounded the modesty of the beholder then of the doers, who did it by compulsion? See now how justly these innocents are charged! As well may the Israelites be blamed for cruelty to themselves, in putting out their own eyes, when they were commanded to do it by the mercilesse Ammonite.

Lastly, they are cleared by the testimonies of their very enemies; and who knoweth not, but such a witness is equivalent to a generall consent? For those, who, when bemadd with anger, most rave and rage against them, yet *per lucida intervalla*, in their cold blood, when their words are indicted from their judgements not passions, do most sufficiently acquit them from these accusations.

Reinerius, a Jacobine Monk, and a cruel inquisitor of the Waldenses, testified, \* That they lived justly before men, and beleaved all things well of God, and held all the articles contained in the Creed; onely they blasphemed the Romish Church, and hated it.

Claudius de Seissell Archbishop of Turin confesseth, As touching their life and manners they were sound and unproveable, without scandal amongst men, giving themselves (to their power) to the observation of the commandments of God.

King Lewis the twelfth of France being thoroughly informed of the faith and life of the Waldenses in his time, bound it with an oath, That they were better men then he or his people. The same King having killed many of those poore people, and having called the place where they lived, *Vallis meretricia*, for their painted and dissembled piety, upon better instructions changed the name, calling it from himself, \* The vale of Lewis.

William de Belai Lieutenant of Piemont gave this commendation of the Merindolites (a sprig which some hundred yeares after sprouted from the Waldenses) \* That they were a laborious people, averse from suits, bountifull to the poore, duly paying their Princes tributes and Lords dues, serving God with

Anno  
Dom.  
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\* So witnesseth Peter De walle Sarren-sh, being himself a Monk, and lately printed (anno 1615.) in Paris. See Rivet On Genesis, pag. 138.

\* Cited by Fox in his Martyrol. pag. 232.

\* Thuanus, tom. 2. lib. 17. pag. 15.

\* Idem, tom. 10. lib. 6. pag. 188.

with daily prayers, and shewing forth much innocencie in manners.

Thuanus, one that writeth truth with a steadie hand, jogged neither by Romanists nor Huguenots, thus charactereth the \* Con-waldenses, a stemme of that stock we speak of; They used raw pelts clapped about them for their clothes, the foure feet whereof served in stead of buttons; all equall in poverty, having no beggers amongst them; their diet on deer & milk: yet was there scarce any amongst them but could reade and write handsomely, understand the Bible, and sing psalmes; scarce a boy, but could presently and by heart give an account of his faith. Tribute they payed very religiously, &c.

More might be added; but I end all with Gamaliels words, \* *If this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it.* It argueth the goodnesse of their cause, in that all their enemies cruelty (unwise to think to spoil the growth of chamomile by trampling on it) could never suppress them; but they continued till the dayes of Luther, when this morning-starre willingly surrendered his place to him a brighter sunne. But enough of their life and manners. And if any condemn me for superfluity herein, I guard my self with \* S. Augustines shield, *Non est multiloquium, quando necessaria dicuntur, quantalibet sermonum multitudinem ac prolixitate dicantur.*

\* Tom. 2. lib. 27. pag. 16

\* Act. 17. 38. 39.

\* In his preface to his Retraict.

## Chap. 21.

### *The Holy armie advance against the Albingenses; The cities of Besier and Carcassone taken.*

Pope Innocent the third having now gathered together an armie of one hundred thousand Pilgrimes, set forwards for the finall extirpation of the poore Albingenses. The best champions for his Holinesse herein, were the Duke of Burgundy, the Earls of Nevers, St. Paul, Auxerre, Geneva, Poitiers, with Simon Earl of Montfort; Of the Clergie, Milo the Popes Legate, the Archbishops of Sens, Roan; the Bishops of Clermont, Nevers, Lyfieux, Bayeux, Chartres, with divers others, every Bishop with the Pilgrimes of his jurisdiction: To whom the Pope promised Paradise in heaven, but not one peny on earth. Their work was to destroy the Albingenses, which were in great numbers in Daulphine, Provence, Narbonne, Tholose, and other parts of France. Their Commission also extended to the rooting out of all their friends and favourers, whether



detected, or onely suspected; such as were Reimund Earl of Tholose, Reimund Earl of Foyx, the Vicecount of Biefers, Gaston Lord of Berne, the Earl of Bigorre, the Lady of la Vaur, with divers others. See here a new gate to heaven never opened before, for men to cut their way thither through the throats of their innocent brethren! Behold the holy Ghost, who once came down in the form of a Dove, now counterfeited in the shape of a Vulture!

But we must not forget how just before the warre began, the Pope pretended to reclaim them by reasons to the Church of Rome: To which end he gave order for a disputation with them. The parties, place, and time were agreed on; who, where, when they should dispute: but *in fine* nothing was effected. Yea, who ever knew conferences in so great oppositions to ripen kindly, and bring any fruit to perfection? For many come rather for faction then satisfaction, resolving to carry home the same opinions they brought with them: An upright moderatour will scarce be found, who hangeth not to one side: The place will be subject to suspicion, and hinder liberty: Boldnesse and readinesse of speech with the most (though not most judicious) auditours will bear away the bell from solidity of arguments: The passages in the disputing will be partially reported, and both sides will brag of the conquest; so that the rent will be made worse, and more spirits conjured up then allayed.

But now words ended in blows, the Pope onely entertaining them in \* conferences, that in the mean time he might prepare his great armies more suddenly to suppress them.

The first piece of service his souldiers performed, was in sacking the citie of Biefers, and burrough of Carcassone: In which many Catholicks, stedfast in the Romish faith, did dwell, and promiscuously were slain with the Albingenses; yea, Priests themselves were cut in pieces in their priestly ornaments, and under the banner of the Crosse: So that the swallowing of their foes made their friends also go down glib through their throats, without danger of choking. As for the city of Carcassone, which was not farre from the burrough; to the inhabitants thereof those immodest conditions were propounded, whereof formerly: which they refused; and God better provided for them: For whilst the citie was besieged, they escaped out by the benefit of a vault under ground, and so shifted abroad for themselves.

Chap.

*Simon Earl of Montfort chosen Captain of the Holy warre; He conquereth the King of Aragon, prevaieth against the Albingenses, and at last is killed by a woman.*

**H**itherto this warre was managed by the Popes Legate: But now it was concluded that a secular captain should be adjoynd to him, in whose person the chief command should reside over Martiall affairs; and for his pains, by the Popes donation, he was to enjoy all countreys that should be conquered from the Albingenses or their favourers. The place was offered to the Duke of Burgundy; who refused it, saying, He had lands and Lordships enow of his own, without spoiling others of their goods. It was waved also by the Earls of St-Paul, and Nevers, whether out of conscience or policie; because though the Pope gave them the bears skinn, they must first kill and slay him themselves. At last Simon of Montfort, nigh Paris, accepted of it, swearing to vex the Lords enemies. And for a breakfast to begin with, he was seised of the Vicecountie of Biefers, proceeding from hence to take many castles and cities.

1210.

One grand inconvenience attended on this armie of Pilgrimes: For when their quarantine, or fourty dayes service, was expired (the term the Pope set them to merit Paradise in) they would not stay one whit longer: Like post-horses they would runne to their set stage, but could not be spurred one foot further; contenting themselves they had already purchased heaven, and fearing they should be put in possession thereof too soon, by losing their lives in that service. And though the Bishops perswaded some few to stay, that so the surplusage of their merits might make up the arrearages of their friends which wanted them, yet could they not prevail to any purpose. Nor could they so cast and contrive their matters, the tide of peoples devotion being uncertain, but that betwixt the going out of the old and coming in of the new store of Pilgrimes, there would be a low ebbe, wherein their armie was almost wasted to nothing: whereof the Albingenses made no small advantage.

However, the Earls of Tholose, Foyx, and Comminge, and Prince of Berne, the patrones of the Albingenses, finding they were too weak for this Holy armie, sheltered themselves under Peter King of Aragon; whose homagers they were, receiving

See the substance of this following story, in Jo. Paul Perin. lib. 1. cap. 6. & deincepi.

\* Jo. Paul Perin. De Albing. lib. 1. cap. 2.

ceiving investiture from him, though their dominions lay on this side of the Pyrenean hills. This King had the greatnesse of the Earl of Montfort in suspicion; fearing lest these severall Principalities, which now were single arrows, should be bound in one sheaf, conquered and united under Earl Simon. Wherefore he fomented a faction in them against the Holy armie; publicly protesting against the proceedings of Earl Simon; charging him to have turned the bark of Gods Church into a pirates ship, robbing others and enriching themselves under the pretense of Religion, seising on the lands of good Catholics for supposed hereticks, using Gods cause as hunters do a stand, in it the more covertly to shoot at what game they please: Otherwise, why was the Vicecount of Beziers, who lived and died firm in the Romish faith, lately trained into the Legates hand, and against oathes and promises of his safe return, kept close prisoner till his death, and his lands seised on by Earl Simon?

At last the King of Aragon taking the Earl of Montfort on the advantage (shooting him as it were betwixt wind and water, the ending of the old and beginning of new Pilgrimes) forced him to a battel. The King had thirty thousand foot and seven thousand horse; but the Earl, of both foot and horse not above two thousand two hundred. They closed together neare the castle of Moret: And the King, whether out of zeal of conquest and thirst of honour, or distrust of under-officers, or desire to animate others, or a mixture of all, ranne his curvers so openly, and made his turns and returns in the head of the army, that so fair a mark invited his enemies arrows to hit him; by whom he was wounded to death, and fell from his horse; to lesson all Generals to keep themselves, like the heart, in the body of the army, whence they may have a virtuall omnipresence in every part thereof; and not to expose their persons (which, like crystal viols, contain the extracted spirits of their souldiers spilled with their breaking) to places of imminent danger. With his bodie fell the hearts of his men: And though the Earls of Tholose, Foyx, and Comminge, perswaded, entreated, threatened them to stay, they used their oratorie so long till their audience ranne all away, and they were faine to follow them, reserving themselves by flight to redeem their honour some other time.

Simon improving this victorie, pursued them to the gates of Tholose, and killed many thousands. The Friars imputed this victory to the Bishops benediction, and adoring a piece of the Crosse, together with the fervency of the Clergies prayers, which remaining behind in the castle of Moret, battered heaven with their importunity. On the other side, the Al-

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bingenses acknowledged Gods justice in punishing the proud King of Aragon; who, as if his arm had been strong and long enough to pluck down the victory out of heaven without Gods reaching it to him, conceived that Earl Simon came rather to cast himself down at his feet then to fight. But such reckonings without the host are ever subject to a rere-account.

Yet within few yeares the face of this warre began to alter: (With writers of short-hand we must set a prick for a letter, a letter for a word, marking onely the most remarkables.) For young Reimund Earl of Tholose, exceeding his father in valour and successe, so bestirred himself, that in few moneths he regained what Earl Simon was many yeares in getting: And at last Earl Simon besieging Tholose, with a stone which a woman let flie out of an engine, had his head parted from his body.

Men use not to be niggards of their censures on strange accidents: Some paralleled his life with Abimelech that tyrant-Judge; who with the bramble (fitter to make a fire then a King of) accepted of the wooden Monarchie, when the vine, olive, figge-tree declined it. They paired them also in their ends, death disdaining to send his summons by a masculine hand, but arresting them both by a woman. Some perswaded themselves they saw Gods finger in the womans hand; that because the greater part of his cruelty lighted on the weaker sex (for he had buried the Lady of laVaur alive, respecting neither her sex nor nobility) a woman was chosen out to be his executioner: though of himself he was not so prone to cruelty, but had those at his elbow which prompted him to it. The time of his death was a large field for the conceits of others to walk in; because even then when the Pope and three Councils, of Vaur, Montpellier, and Laterane, had pronounced him sonne, servant, favourite of the faith, the invincible defender thereof: And must he not needs break, being swoln with so many windie titles? Amongst other of his styles he was \*Earl of Leicester in England, and father to Simon Montfort the \* Catiline of this Kingdom, who under pretense of curing this land of some grievances, had killed it with his physick, had he not been killed himself in the battel of Evesholm in the reigne of Henry the third.

And here ended the storm of open warre against the Albingenses, though some great drops fell afterwards. Yea, now the Pope grew sensible of many mischiefs in prosecuting this people with the Holy warre: First, the incongruity betwixt the Word and the Sword; to confute hereticks with armies in the field, opened clamorous mouthes. Secondly, \* three hundred thousand of these Croised Pilgrimes lost their lives in this expedition, within the space of fifteen yeares; so that there was neither citie nor village in France, but by reason here-

\* See Camd.  
in Leicester-  
shire.

\* Also in  
Norchester-  
shire.

\* Perin, Of  
the Albin-  
genesis, lib. 2.  
cap. 4.

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of had widows and orphans cursing this expedition. And his Holiness, after he had made allowance for his losse of time, bloud, and credit, found his gain *de claro* very small. Besides, such was the chance of warre, and good Catholicks were so intermingled with hereticks, that in sacking of cities they were slain together. Whereupon the Pope resolved of a privater way, which made lesse noise in the world, attracted lesse envy, and was more effectual; To prosecute them by way of Inquisition. Hereby he might single them out by retail, rooting out the tares without hurting the corn, and overthrowing them by piece-meal whom he could never stagger in grosse.

\* *Mariyol. in vita Dominici.*

\* *Psal. 9. 12.*

Dominick a Spaniard was first authour hereof. Well did his mother, being with child of him, dream that she had a dog \* vomiting fire in her wombe. This ignivomous curre (fire of the litter of Mendicant Friars called Dominicans) did bark at and deeply bite the poore Albingenses. After his death, Pope Honorius for his good service bestowed a Saintship on him: For he dreamed he saw the Church of Rome falling, and Dominick holding it up with his shoulders; wherefore he canonized this Atlas of their religion. The proceedings of this Inquisition were the abridgement of all cruelty, turning the sword of Justice into the butchers ax. But no doubt God, when he maketh \* inquisition for bloud, will one day remember this bloody Inquisition. And who can but admire at the continuance of the doctrine of the Albingenses to this day, maugre all their enemies? Let those privy-counsellors of Nature, who can tell where swallows lie all winter, and how at the spring they have a resurrection from their seeming deadnesse, let those, I say, also inform us in what invisible sanctuaries this doctrine did lurk in spite of persecution, and how it revived out of its ashes at the coming of Luther. To conclude; it is observed, That in those parts of France where the Albingenses were most cruelly handled, now the Protestants (heirs to most of their tenets) flourish most: as in the countreys of Gascongne, Dauphine, and Languedoc.

### Chap. 23.

*King Almerick for his lazinesse depofed by the Pope.*

**W**elcome the Holy land, welcome Ptolemais: How shallow and almost quite dry is the stream of Pilgrimes grown here, since the Pope hath drained it with so large a by-channel into France!

As

Anno Dom. 1206

Anno Dom. 1206

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As for Almerick the idle King of Jerusalem, we find him as we left him, drowning his cares constantly in wine: his hands being lazier then those that are printed in the margin of a book, which point what others should read; whilst he would neither do, nor order what should be done: So true was it of him, what is said \* of another, *Titularis non titularis Rex; defuit non profuit Reipublica.*

\* *Of Chilperick King of France.*

And now the warre betwixt Noradine Saladines sonne and Saphradine his uncle, about the sovereignty, lasting nine yeares, ended with Saphradines death; and Noradine contented himself with the government of Aleppo, whilst Saphradines two sonnes shared his dominions, Coradine commanding in Damascus and Syria, and Meladine in Egypt.

The former of these without any resistance built a fort in mount Tabor, to the great annoyance of the Christians. To prevent farther mischief arising from Almericks negligence, the Pope (who would have a finger in every Crown, and a hand in this) depofed him from the Kingdome. This Almerick grieved to lose what he was never carefull to keep, soon after died for sorrow. But how doth this agree with Marinus Sanutus, who maketh him to die of a surfeit of \* gilt-heads five yeares sooner, and saith there was five yeares *interregnum* in Palestine, wherein the Christians had no King at all?

\* *A fift called Aurata, or Aurella.*

### Chap. 24.

*John Bren made King of Jerusalem. A most promising voyage into Palestine of new Pilgrimes; which remove the seat of the warre into Egypt.*

1209

**I**n the place of Almerick the Pope appointed John de Bren, a private French Gentleman, to be King. Who, to twist his title with another string, married Maria Iole the sole daughter of Conrade late King of Jerusalem. This John had behaved himself right valiantly amongst other Latine Princes in the voyage against the Greeks, and was a most martiall man, as all do witnesse: Onely one calleth him \* *imbellem hominem*; why I know not, except he be of that humour to delight to be one of the Antipodes, treading opposite to a world of writers besides. In the beginning of his reigne this accident (whether monstrous or miraculous) fell out: In France, a boy (for his yeares) went about singing in his own tongue,

\* *Theod. 2. N. i. e. i. n. De privileg. imper. cap. De Expedi. Hierosol.*

*Jesus*

1213

*Iesus Lord, repair our losse;  
Restore to us thy holy Crosse.*

ANNO  
DOM.  
1217

Numberlesse children ranne after him, and followed the same tune their captain and chanter did set them. No bolts, no barres, no fear of fathers or love of mothers could hold them back, but they would to the Holy land to work wonders there; till their merry musick had a sad close, all either perishing on land, or drowned by sea. It was done (saith my \* authour) by the instinct of the devil, who, as it were, desired a cordiall of childrens blood to comfort his weak stomach long cloyed with murdering of men.

\* *Matth. Pa-  
rif. in anno  
1213. pag.  
324. Prestigio  
diabolico pe-  
nitus infatu-  
ati.*

\* *Centuriat.  
Cent. 13. cap.  
9.*

Soon after began the Laterane Councel under Innocent the third: Wherein many things were concluded for the recovery of the Holy land; as, That the Crosse should every where be preached with zeal and earnestnesse to procure Pilgrimes; That all \* tiltings in Christendome for three yeares should be forbidden, that so the spears of Christians might onely be broken against Infidels; That Clergie-men that went this voyage might (if need were) mortgage their Church-livings for three yeares to provide themselves with present necessities. That all debtors, during their Pilgrimage (though bound by oath in conscience, the strongest specialty) should be dispensed with to pay no use to their creditours; who if Christians, by excommunications; if Jews, were to be forced by the secular power to remit their interest; That all Priests should contribute the twentieth part of their revenues for three yeares, to advance this designe. And lest (saith his Holinesse) we should seem to lay heavy burdens on others which we will not touch with our least finger, we assigne a ship at our own cost to carry our Pilgrimes of the cite of Rome; and disburse for the present what can be spared from our necessary expenses, to the summe of thirty thousand pounds, to further the project: and for three yeares to come, we and our brethren the Cardinals of Rome, will fully pay the tenth of our Church-profits.

1215

Hereupon next spring a numerous armie set forward to Palestine, conducted by Pelagius the Popes Legate, Andrew King of Hungarie (who having washed himself in the river of Jordan, would stay no longer, but instantly returned home) the three Electorall Archbishops, with those of Liege, Wirtzburg, Bamberg, Strafsburg, Paris, &c. Lewis Duke of Bavaria, Leopold of Austria, a navie of our English, besides Florentines, Genoans, and many other nations. The autumn they spent in the fruitlesse besieging of the fort of mount Tabor; whilest King John Bren wonne from the Turks the castle of Pilgrimes, a piece of great consequence on the sea-side.

1216

Then was it debated on both sides of translating the warre into

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ANNO  
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into Egypt. Which many advised to be done: For that countrey afforded the Turks their victuals and munition; and the best way to draw them low, was to stop them in the fountain. It was also most honour to rouse the Lion in his own denne. And Palestine was so forraged, that there was nothing to be gleaned in the stubble; whereas Egypt was so rich and fruitfull, it cared not for the frowns of heaven, so it might have the favour of Nilus; and there was no fear to want bread in that the granary of the world. That according to the rule, *Plus animi est inferenti periculum, quam propulsanti*; the Christians would be heartened, but the Egyptians discouraged in the invasion of Egypt. The sad spectacle of their countreys vastation would disturb their minds, make them dissident of their own worth, and insufficient to maintain their cause. Lastly, the Christians might leave when they list, reserving at all times Ptolemais to entertain them, in case fortune should crosse their designs.

But the reasons to the contrary wanted not weight but weighing. They considered not (what was objected) That to invade a strong entire countrey without having a partie within it to side with them, was to endeavour to cleave a tree with a beetle without a wedge. Besides, Egypt was an exception from the rules of all other countreys, & had certain locall maximes of leading of an armie appropriated to it alone. That Valour must needs have the fall, when it wrestleth with Nature it self, and fighteth against bogs, rivers, and inundations. That it was more agreeable to reason, first to recover and defend what once was their own, before they attempted other mens possessions. That these their forces afforded little hope of victory in another Kingdome, which were not able to clear their own countrey, and the forts in Syria, from so dangerous an enemy. Lastly, That the Egyptians fighting for their fathers, wives, and children, would raise their valour to the highest point of resolution. These arguments notwithstanding, the watch-word was given for Egypt, whither all addressed themselves.

And here began the discords betwixt King John and the Popes Legate, who challenged not onely an influence but a predominancy in every thing, and would dictate to the General what he should do in martiall affairs: He presumed on his book-learning to controll the practice of experienced captains by his military speculations. The King stormed herat, knowing there were some mysteries in the Captain-craft not communicable to any which had not served the trade, and which the heart of a Scholar was too narrow to contain; That though Scholarship was a stock fit to graff any profession on, yet some good time is requisite thereunto; and that they must not think to proceed military Masters at their first admission in a camp; That though

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though the Legate might conceive himself to know the latitude of warlike principles, yet he knew not the use of distinctions, exceptions, and cautions of application; and might easily be misled by disproportion and dissimilitude of examples, the variation of circumstances, the infiniteness of punctuall occurrences: Wherefore he forbad him to meddle with martiall matters, challenging them to belong to his own disposall. But Pelagius the Legate highly opinioned of his own sufficiency, as if his place made him infallible in every thing, and loth to confesse himself besides the cushion whilst he sat in the chair, would have an oar in all actions. He held this conclusion, That the generall rules of warre were easily known; and as for the qualification of them *pro exigentia hic & nunc*, herein reason was the key of the work, which scholars having most perfected by learning, were thereby the most competent judges what should be done on all occasions. How dearly the Christians payed for this his error, and how this discord, smothered for a while, brake out, we shall see hereafter. Mean time, hoisting up sails, the Pilgrimes navie safely arrived at Damiatra.

Chap. 25.

*Damiatra besieged and taken: The Christians undvisedly refuse honourable conditions.*

Damiatra is a chief haven of Egypt, anciently Pelusium, seated on the Eastern-most stream of Nilus: Here the East and West world met together to exchange their wares; the grudging for trade to give the upper hand to Alexandria it self. At their landing\* the moon was almost totally eclipsed: whence the Christians conceited (ghesse the frailnesse of the building by the unconstancy of the foundation) that the overthrow of the Mahometanes (whose ensigne was the \* Half-moon) was portended. But the calculatours of after-chances seldome hit right. In the siege of this citie they were to encounter with a fourfold difficulty, besides Damiatra it self:

First, with a great chain crossing the harbour: which with insupportable pains, and art mingled with labour, they brake asunder; industry in action being as importunity in speech, by continuall inculcation forcing a yeelding beyond the strength of reason.

Secondly, the river Nilus did much annoy them. This river (the height of whose flowing is the Egyptian Almanack, whereby they prognosticate future plenty or penury) now out of

Anno  
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1217

\* Matth. Parris. in Joan. pag. 401.

\* Munster.

Anno  
Dom.  
1218

time and beyond measure drowned the countrey. Bold fishes swamme into the Christians tents, who took them with their hands,\* though willingly they could have wanted such dainties; for the lauce was more then the meat. Against this mischief they fenced themselves with prayer, and a publick fast enjoined by the Legate; whereby the water soon abated. And lest Gods mercie herein, when gotten, should be forgotten, a publick thanksgiving was proclaimed, that this favour obtained by prayer might be kept by praises.

Thirdly, they were to grapple with the fort of Pharia, a seeming impregnable place, betwixt them and Damiatra. To check this fort, the Christians built a towre on ships: which suddenly falling, brained many, bruised more of their own men; and all who felt not the blow, were stricken with the fright. King John comforted his souldiers discouraged hereat, desiring them to apprehend actions by their true causes; and as not to vaunt of blind victories, so not to be dismayed at casuall mishaps, so purely accidentall, that there was no guard against them in the schools of defense, either of wisdom or valour. By his advice a more substantiall towre was built, the rarest piece in that kind the world ever saw; by the manning whereof, after many bloody assaults, they mastered the fort of Pharia.

Fourthly, they had to do with Meladine King of Egypt, who lay besides them, constantly furnishing the citie with men and victuals, and exercising the Christians with continuall skirmishes. In one, with his wild-fire he did them much harm, and King John was dangerously scorched. But seeing that the Christians hewed their way through the rocks of all difficulties, he propounded peace unto them by the mediation of Noradine his brother, King of Damascus; profering them, if they would depart, to restore them the true Croisse, the citie of Jerusalem, and all the land of Palestine.

\* The English, French, and Italians would have embraced the conditions, pleading, That honourable peace was the centre of warre, where it should rest; That they could not satisfie their conscience to rob these Egyptians of their lands without a speciall command from God; That it was good wisdom to take so desperate a debt whensoever the payment was tendered; otherwise, if they would not be content with their arms full, they might perchance return with their hands empty.

But the Legate would no wayes consent, alledging this voyage was undertaken not onely for the recovery of Palestine, but for the extirpation of the Mahometane superstition. And herein no doubt he followed the instructions of his master, whose end in this warre was, That this warre should have no end, but be alwayes in doing though never done. He knew it was dan-

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\* Illis tamen deliciis carere maluissent, Matth. Parris. pag. 405.

\* P. Amyl. pag. 101.

Aug.  
24.

1219  
Febr.

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July  
9.

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\* Magdeburg.  
Cent. 13. cap.  
16. col. 692.

\* P. Emyl.  
pag. 203.

\* Magdeburg.  
pag. 693.

gerous to stop an issue which had been long open ; and would in no case close up this vent of people by concluding a finall peace. Besides, an old prophesie, \* That a Spaniard should win Jerusalem, and work wonders in those parts, made Pelagius that countrey-man more zealous herein. Coradine angry his proffer was refused, beat down the walls of Jerusalem and all the beautifull buildings therein, save the towre of David and the temple of the Sepulchre. Not long after, Damiata having been besieged one yeare and seven moneths, was taken without resistance ; plague and famine had made such a vastation therein. The Christians entred with an intent to kill all, but their anger soon melted into pity, beholding the citie all bestrawed with corpses. The sight was bad, and the sent was worse ; for the dead killed the living. Yea, Gods sword had left their sword no work : Of \* threescore and ten thousand but three thousand remained, who had their lives pardoned on condition to cleanse the citie: which imployed them a quarter of a yeare. Hence the Christians marched and took the citie of Tanis ; and soon after the Pope substituted \* John de Columna, a Cardinall, Legate in the place of Pelagius.

Ann.  
Dom.  
1219

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## Chap. 26.

### *New discords betwixt the King and the Legate ; They march up to besiege Cairo.*

Great was the spoil they found in Damiata : wherein, as in strong barred chests, the merchants of Egypt and India had locked up their treasure. A full yeare the Christians stayed here, contented to make this inne their home. Here arose new discords betwixt the King and the new Legate, who by vertue of his Legation challenged Damiata for his Holinesse, which by publick agreement was formerly assigned to the King. Bren in anger returned to Ptolemais, both to puff out his discontents in private, & to teach the Christians his worth by wanting him: For presently they found themselves at a losse ; neither could they stand still without disgrace, nor go on without danger. The Legate commanded them to march up ; but they had too much spirit to be ruled by a Spirituall man, and swore not to stirre a step except the King was with them. Messengers therefore were sent to Ptolemais to fetch him. They found him of a steellie nature ; once through-hot, long in cooling : yet by promising him he should have his own desires, they over-perswaded him not to starve an armie by feeding his own humours.

Scarce

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Ann.  
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Scarce after eight moneths abience was he returned to Damiata, but new divisions were betwixt them : The Legate perswaded the armie to march up and besiege Cairo ; he promised, if they would obey him, they should quickly command all Egypt, by present invading it. Let defendants lie at a close guard, and offer no play. Delays are a safe shield to save, but celerity the best sword to winne a countrey. Thus Alexander conquered the world before it could bethink it self to make resistance. And thus God now opened them a doore of victorie, except they would barre it up by their own idlenessse.

But the King advised to return into Syria ; That Cairo was difficult to take, and impossible to keep ; That the ground whereon they went, was as treacherous as the people against whom they fought ; That better now to retire with honour, then hereafter sic with shame ; That none but an empirick in warre will denie, but that more true valour is in an orderly well grounded retreat, then in a furious rash invasion.

But the Legate used an inartificiall argument drawn from the authority of his place, thundering excommunication against those that would not march forward: And now needs must they go when he driveth them.

The crafty Egyptians (of whom it is true, what is said of the Parthians, Their sight is more to be feared then their fight) ran away, counterfeiting cowardlinesse. The Christians triumphed hereat ; as if the silly fish should joyce that he had caught the fisherman, when he had swallowed his bait. The Legate hugged himself in his own happinesse, that he had given so successfull advice. And now see how the garland of their victorie proved the halter to strangle them.

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## Chap. 27.

### *The miserable case of the drowned Christians in Egypt. Damiata surrendred in ransome of their lives.*

Egypt is a low level countrey, except some few advantages which the Egyptians had fortified for themselves. Through the midst of the land ran the river Nilus ; whose stream they had so bridled with banks and sluices, that they could keep it to be their own servant, and make it their enemies master at pleasure. The Christians confidently marched on ; and the Turks perceiving the game was come within the toil, pierced their

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banks,

banks, and unmuzzling the river, let it runne open mouth upon them; yet so, that at first they drowned them up but to the middle, reserving their lives for a further purpose, thereby in exchange to recover Damiatra and their countreys liberty.

See here the land of Egypt turned in an instant into the Egyptian sea! See an army of sixty thousand, as the neck of one man, stretched on the block, and waiting the fatal stroke! Many cursed the Legate, and their own rashness, that they should follow the counsel of a gowned man (all whose experience was clasped in a book) rather than the advice of experienced captains. But too late repentance, because it soweth not in season, reapeth nothing but unavoidable miserie.

Meladine King of Egypt seeing the constancy and patience of the Christians, was moved with compassion towards them. He had of himself strong inclinations to Christianity, wearie of Mahometanism, and willing to break that prison, but for watchfull jaylers about him. He profered the Christians their lives, on condition they would quit the countrey and restore Damiatra. They accepted the conditions, and sent messengers to Damiatra to prepare them for the surrendering of it. But they within the citie, being themselves safe on shore, tyrannized on their poore brethren in shipwrack; pretending, That this armie of Pilgrimes deserved no pity, who had invited this misfortune on themselves by their own rashness; That if they yeilded up this citie for nothing, which cost so many lives, they should betray themselves to the derision of the whole world; That if these perished, more men might be had; but no more Damiatra's; being a place of such importance, it would alwayes be a snaffle in the mouth of the Egyptian King. On the other side, the friends of the distressed Christians confessed, That indeed their voyage was unadvised and justly to be blamed; yet worse and more inconsiderate projects have armies oft undertaken, which, if crowned with successe, have been above censure, yea, have passed not onely without questioning but with commendations: But this is the misery of misery, that those who are most afflicted of God, shall be most condemned of men. Wherefore they requested them to pity their brethren, and not to leave them in this forlorn estate. How clamorous would their innocent blood be in the court of Heaven, to sue for revenge on those who forsook them in this distresse! And grant Damiatra a citie of great consequence; yet cities in themselves were but dead things, and men were the souls to enliven them: so that those souldiers which wonne Damiatra, if preserved alive, might happily recover as strong a citie afterwards.

But finding their arguments not to prevail, they betook themselves to arms, by force to compell the adverse party to resigne

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Dom.  
1220

resigne the citie. King John also threatned, in case they denied to surrender it, to give up to Meladine Ptolemais in Syria in exchange for Damiatra. At last, according to the agreement, Damiatra was restored to the Turks, and the Christian armie let out of the trap wherein it was taken. Meladine out of his princely goodness furnished them with \* victuals, and with horses to carry their feeble persons upon. And thus the Christians had the greatest blow given them without a blow given them; the Egyptians obtaining their victory not by blood but by water.

\* P. Emyl.  
pag. 205.

## Chap. 28.

### *John Bren resigneth the Kingdome of Jerusalem to Frederick the second, Germane Emperour.*

There was also concluded a peace with the Turks for eight yeares. And now matters being settled as well as they might be in Syria, King John took a journey to Rome; where he was bountifully feasted; and honourably entertained by the Pope. Here it was agreed (whether at the first by his voluntary offer, or working of others, it appeareth not) that he should resigne the Kingdome of Jerusalem to Frederick the second, Germane Emperour, who was to marry Iole the sole daughter of King John by his first wife; though by a second he had another, Martha, married to Robert Emperour of Constantinople: so that he was father in law both to Emperour of East and West.

Some condemned his resignation as an unadvised act; as if he had first parted from his wits, who would willingly part from a Kingdome; whilst others commend his discretion: For first, his wife was dead, in whose right he held his Kingdome, and thereby a doore was opened for other litigious pretenders to the Crown. Secondly, it was policie, *fugere ne fugatur*: yea, this was no flight, but an honourable departure. Well he knew the Turks power to invade, and his own weakness to defend what was left in Syria: So that finding the weight too heavy for himself, he did well to lay it on stronger shoulders. Thirdly, before his resignation he had little more then a tide: and after it he had nothing lesse; men having so tuned their tongues to salute him King of Jerusalem, that he was so called to the day of his death. Lastly, what he wanted in the stardiness of his bed, he had in the soundness of his sleep; and though his commons perchance were shorter, yet he battled better on them.

He



He got now more in a twelve-moneth then in seven yeares before, going from countrey to countrey: And yet the farther this stone rolled, the more mosse he gathered. In France, besides rich gifts left to himself, he had the managing of sixty thousand crowns; the legacie which Philip Augustus the King on his death-bed \* bequeathed to the Templars and the Holy warre. In England he received from Henry the third many great presents; though afterwards he proved but \* unthankfull for them. In Spain he got a rich wife, Beringaria, the daughter of the King of Castile. In Italie he tasted very largely of the Popes liberalitie, and lived there in good esteem. But he went off the stage without an applause, because he lost himself in his last act; perfidiously raising rebellions against Frederick his sonne in law, at the instigation of his Holinesse. Nor recovered he his credit, though after he went to his sonne Robert to Constantinople, and there did many good offices. He died

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\* P. Amylin  
Phil. 2. pag.  
205.  
\* Matth. T-  
rif. pag. 617.

## Chap. 29.

*The true character of Frederick; How the history of his life is prejudiced by the partialitie of Authours on both sides.*

**T**He nuptiall solemnities of Frederick with the Lady Iole were performed at Rome, in the presence of the Pope, with all ceremonies of majesty; and Frederick promised to prosecute in person his title in Palestine within two yeares. Little hope have I to content the reader in this Kings life, who cannot satisfie my self; writers of that age are so possessed with \* partiality. The faction of the Guelfes and Gibellines discovereth not it self more plainly in the Camp then in the Chronicles: Yea, Historians turn Schoolmen in matters of fact, arguing them *pro & con*. And as it is in the Fable of the man that had two wives; whilest his old wife plucked out his black hairs, the evidence of his youth, his young one ungray-haired him, that no standards of antiquity might remain, they made him bald betwixt them: So amongst our late writers; whilest Protestants cut off the authority from all Papized writers of that age, and Romanists cast away the witness of all Imperialized authours then living (such as Urspergenis is, and generally all Germanes) counting them *testes domesticos*, and therefore of no validitie, betwixt them they draw all historie of that time

very

\* Blondus,  
Fazellus, &c.  
for the Pope.  
\* Ursperg. Petrus  
desl'incia  
(till corrupted  
with  
bribes) &c.  
for the Em-  
perour.  
\* Matth. Paris,  
a moderate  
man, whom  
we follow  
most.

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very slender, and make it almost quite nothing. We will not engage our selves in their quarrels; but may safely believe, that Frederick was neither saint, nor devil, but man. Many vertues in him his foes must commend, and some vices his friends must confesse. He was \* very learned, according to the rate of that age, especially for a Prince, who onely baireth at learning, and maketh it not his profession to lodge in. Wise he was in projecting; nor were his thoughts ever so scattered with any sudden accident, but he could instantly recollect himself. Valiant he was, and very fortunate; though this rendeth more to Gods praise then his: Wondrous bountifull to scholars and fouldiers, whose good will he enjoyed, for he payed for it.

But this Gold had its allay of Cruelty; though this was not so much bred in him as he brought to it: Treasons against him were so frequent, he could not be safe but must be severe, nor severe without incurring the asperson of crueltie. His Pride was excessive; and so was his Wantonnesse: A Nunnes vail was but a slender shield against his lust: This sinne he was given to, \* which was besides the custome of the Dürch, saith one, who though great friends to Bacchus, are no favourites of Venus; which is strange, that they should heap up so much sewel, and have no more fire.

In a word, he was a better Emperour then a man, his vices being personall, most hurting himself; his vertues of a publick nature, and accomplishing him for government.

\* Pantol. De  
vitiis illustr.  
Germ. part. 2.  
pag. 111.

\* Præter gen-  
tis morem,  
Egnatius.

## Chap. 30.

*Mines and countermines betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, seeking to blow up, or at leastwise to stay the projects each of other.*

**I**T is verily conceived that the Pope provided this match for Frederick to imploy him in Palestine, whilest he at home might play his game at pleasure. For as provident Nature in marshalling the elements, assigned fire a place in the verge and border of this lower world farre from the rest, left otherwise the activity thereof might set the others in combustion: so the Pope disposed this hot violent-spirited Emperour farre off, and engaged him in a distant and dangerous warre out of the borders of Europe.

Frederick smelt the project of his Holinesse, being also master in the art of dissembling, though he must acknowledge the

Y

Pope



Pope his senior in that faculty : Wherefore he deferred the performance of his promise and his voyage into Palestine from moneth to moneth, and yeare to yeare, wisely gaining time by losing it.

The truth was, he was not yet ripe for such an expedition. The Pope was afraid of his valour, he of the Popes treachery, and more feared him behind his back then the Turk before his face. He was loth to let go the Eagle he had in hand, to catch the little bird that was in the bush. Wherefore as yet he refused to go, pleading that the eight yeares truce which King Bren had made with the Turks, was not yet expired ; before which time to fight against them, was to fight against God and conscience : and that it was no way to propagate the Faith by breach of faith.

Pope Honorius continued still to put him in mind of his promise : Yea, he rubbed his memory so roughly, he fetched off the skinne, with his threats and menaces. But before Fredericks journey began, Honorius his life ended, and Gregory the ninth succeeded him ; who at the first dash excommunicated the Emperour for his delay.

Know by the way, that his name-fake Gregory the seventh (otherwise Hildebrand) first hanelled his excommunication on Henry the fourth. Before his time the Imperiall majesty (what is observed of the Seal, that it is never hit with thunder) was never fulminated against with excommunication : afterward nothing more usuall ; till the commonnesse of those thunderbolts caused their contempt, and the Emperours natures were so used to this physick it would not work with them. Of late his Holinesse is grown more advised, very sparingly using them, especially against Protestant Princes ; counting it policie to hold that weapon within the scabbard which hath no other edge but what is given it by the opinion of those against whom it is used.

Frederick at last cometh forth of Germany with his armie, marcheth through Italy, cometh to Brindisi, where the plague seisseth on his men, whereof died the Landgrave of Thuringia, and others. Soon after he fell very desperately sick himself, which stayed his journey many moneths.

It went neare to the Pope, that the Emperour was so neare to him : His case now was worse then formerly : For he had rouzed the Lion out of his denne, but could not get him into the net. His sickness must either be more or lesse to do good. And the Pope having no variety of weapons, excommunicated him afresh, pretending Fredericks disease was onely the cramp of lazinesse, and that he was sick to do good, but swooned to do mischief ; as appeared by his unjust seising on the

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13.

goods of Lewis Landgrave of Thuringia late deceased. The Emperour protested his innocencie, accused the Popes injustice, putting himself on the trial of all Christian Princes, to whom he wrote letters. At last health came, and Frederick departed, bearing up with his navie for Palestine. The Pope hearing thereof, belibelled him more fouly then ever before, because like an undutifull sonne he departed without his Fathers blessing, being not absolved and reconciled to his Mother the Church.

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## Chap. 31.

### *Frederick recovereth all Palestine and Jerusalem without expense of time or blood.*

SEe how Gods blessing goeth along with the Popes curses ! The fame of Fredericks valour and maiden fortune, never as yet spotted with ill successe, like an harbinger hastening before, had provided victorie to entertain him at his arrivall ; yea, this Emperour, swifter then Cesar himself, overcame before he came over into Palestine.

At this time the state of the Turks in Syria was very aguish, and Fredericks coming put them into a shaking fit. \* Coradine was dead, his children in minority, the Turkish Souldans factious, boiling in enmity one against another. Whereupon the Sultan of Babylon, who was of chiefe authority, and governed Syria, profered Frederick so honourable conditions as he might desire, but could never hope for : namely, To restore unto him Jerusalem and all Palestine, in as full and ample a manner as it was possessed by Baldwine the fourth, before Saladine subdued it ; To set all Christian captives at liberty ; provided, that the Turks might have access to the Sepulchre, (though not lodging in the citie but suburbs, and that in small numbers at a time) there to do their devotions, they also having a knowledge of, and giving an honour to Christ, though no better then ignorance and dishonour of him.

Frederick before he ratified any thing by oath, sent to have the Popes approbation : \* who ill entreated and imprisoned his messengers, denied them audience, and contemptuously tore the Emperours letters. Wherefore Frederick without, yea, against his Holinesse consent, concluded a ten yeares truce with the Sultan ; and on \* Easter-day triumphantly entring Jerusalem, crowned himself King with his own hands. For Gerard Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Oliver master of the Templars, with

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\* Centuriat.

\* Centuriat.

\* Math. Paris, in anno 1219. pag. 480.

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\* *Matth. Pa-  
rif. in anno  
1129. pag.  
479.*

with all the Clergie, absented themselves ; neither was there any \* masse sung in the citie as long as the Emperour being ex-communicated remained there.

See that produced as it were in an instant which the succession of many yeares could not perform, all the Holy land recovered! Some gallants perchance (whose curious palates count all conquests drie meat which are not juiced with bloud) will dispraise this Emperours victory for the best praise thereof, because it was so easily gotten without drawing his sword for it. But they deserve to go naked who scorn to wear good clothes if they cost not dear.

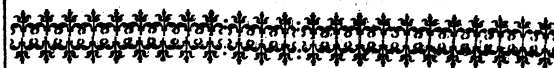
The Templars were vexed at heart that they had no partnership in the glory of this action ; yea, this touched their copyhold : Had they lived lazie thus long in Palestine, sucking the \* sweet of Christendome to no purpose ? See, Frederick with few men, little money, lesse time, as master of his craft, had finished that which these bunglers had so long in vain been fumbling about !

Wherefore they wanting true merit to raise themselves to the pitch of Fredericks honour, sought by false detraction to depreesse him to the depth of their own baseness ; defaming him, as if he conspired with the Sultan to the ruine of all Christianity. In the mean time the Christians every where built and repaired the cities of Palestine, being now resigned into their hands. Joppa and Nazareth they strongly fortified: the walls of Jerusalem were repaired, the Churches therein adorned, and all publick edifices either wholly cast their skin with the snake, or at leastwise renewed their bill with the eagle, having their fronts either built or beautified. But new tackling to an old rotten keel will never make serviceable ship. Short were the smiles of this citie, which groning under Gods old curse, little joyed her self in this her new bravery.

*The end of the third Book.*

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\* *idem, ibi-  
dem.*



# The Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

## Book IIII.

### Chap. 1.

*Frederick battered with the Popes force, and undermined with his fraud, leaveth Palestine, and returneth into Italy.*

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Thus the Christian affairs in Palestine were in good case and possibility of improvement. But the Pope knew he should catch no fish if the waters were thus clear : Wherefore he stirred up John Bren, Fredericks father in law (gheffe whether his plots ran not low when he used such dregs) to raise a rebellion in Italy against him.

His Holinesse spread a false report of purpose, that Frederick was dead. Who would think there were so much substance in a shadow ! This vain rumour wrought reall effects, strengthening Fredericks foes with hopes, and staggering his friends with fear and uncertainties. Bren striking the iron whilest it was hot, wonne many places from the Emperour : And though Time soon after was delivered of her daughter Truth, yet the confusion came too late, to shut the doore when the steed was stoln ; the Pope having attained his ends, and served his turn already.

A jubile of liberty was proclaimed to all the Emperours subjects, and they dispensed with from the Pope for their allegiance to him. Milain, and many other cities in Italy, formerly Imperiall, danced at this musick, made a foot-cloth of their Masters livery, and from this time dated themselves Free-States. Here was brave gleanng, where all ranne away with whole sheaves ;

sheaves; where robbery was priviledged for lawfull purchase. And the Pope, wise enough not so to give away the pie but to keep the best corner for himself, carved all Apulia for his own part.

Whilest hostility in Italy, treason beset Frederick in Syria; the Templars intimated to the Sultan his private project to wash himself in Jordan, that so he might be surprized. But the Sultan (no doubt out of pity to see a Lion caught in a Fox-trap, there being a consanguinity of all Princes, and the royall blood which runneth in their veins causing a sympathie of Majesty betwixt them) scorned to advantage himself by treachery, and sent their letters to Frederick: Who afterwards used the Templars, and generally all the Clergie in Palestine (counting them complies with the Pope) courselly, not to say cruelly.

At last having confirmed his ten yeares truce, and having appointed Reinoldus Duke of Bavaria his Lieutenant in Syria, without noise he cometh into Europe: For to return triumphantly in state, had been but an alarm to awaken envy, and a warning-piece for his enemies to prepare against him. He out-failed fame it self, landing in Italy in person before he arrived there in report. Then the love of his loyall subjects, hitherto rather covered then quenched, appeared; and though formerly forced to a contrary motion, returned now quickly to their own Prince their proper centre.

Within fifteen dayes, assisted with the Duke of Spoletum, Frederick recovered all which was wonne from him, and unravelled the fair web of John Breus victory, even to the very hemme thereof.

Then was all Italy (resembled by Geographers for the fashion thereof, to a mans legge) troubled with the incurable gout of schisme and faction: Not a city of note in it which was not dichotomized into the sect of the Guelfes, which favoured the Pope, and Gibellines, which adhered to the Emperour.

Guelfes

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Guelfes for  
the Pope.

Gibellines for  
the Emperour.

Guelfes for  
the Pope.

Gibellines for  
the Emperour

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<i>Ursini</i>	} in Rome	<i>Columanenses</i>	<i>Floresii</i>	} in Genoa	<i>Spinola</i>
<i>Sabelii</i>		<i>Frangapanes</i>	<i>Grimaldi</i>		<i>Adurnii</i>
<i>Adimarii</i>	} in Florence	<i>Perzii</i>	<i>Caneduli</i>	} in Bononia	<i>Sensivoli</i>
<i>Bondelmontii</i>		<i>Ubertii</i>	<i>Pepuli</i>		<i>Matucii</i>
<i>Amidei</i>		<i>Donati</i>	<i>Marescotti</i>		
<i>Cerchi</i>		<i>Albichi</i>			
<i>Ricci</i>		<i>Strozzi</i>			
<i>Medicei</i>	> in Lucca < <i>Obicci</i>	<i>Salviati</i>	<i>Essenes</i>	> in Ferrara < <i>Saliguervi</i>	
<i>Padii</i>			<i>Viccomites</i>		
<i>Interminelli</i>	> in Padua < <i>Carrarii</i>			> in Mantua < <i>Bonacussii</i>	

These are  
collected out  
of Lampad.  
Mellif. Hist.  
part. 3. pag.  
303.

\* St. John  
Harington.

I will not quarrel with the tradition, \* That Elves and Goblins in our English tongue had their first original from the depravation of the names of Guelfes and Gibellines. If so, sure I am, what now we make *terriculamenta infantum*, scarecrows to affright children, were then true Harpyes to devour men.

I would farther prosecute these discords; and also shew how Frederick was forced to ask pardon of him who had most wronged him, and dearly to purchase his absolution from the Pope; (For though this Emperours heart was as hard as stone, yet was it furrowed, dented, and hollowed at last with the Popes constant dropping and incessant raining of curses upon him) But I dare wander no farther in this subject, lest any should question my Paffe, but return back to the Holy land.

## Chap. 2.

*The Tartars first appearing in the world affright both Christians and Turks; Of their name and nature; Whether Turks or Tartars be easier convertible to the true religion.*

Reinoldus Duke of Bavaria being left Fredericks Lieutenant in Syria, wisely discharged his office, and preserved the peace entire which was concluded with the Sultan of Babylon. But the Templars sought by all means to bring this ten yeares truce to an untimely end: which was as bad as a Lent to them, wherein they must fast from fighting, the meat and drink of turbulent spirits. These counting all luke-warm which were not scalding hot, condemned Reinoldus for want of zeal in the Holy warre, and gave him many a lift to heave him from his place:

\* Magdeburg.  
Cent. 13. cap.  
16.

place; but still he sat sure, poised with his own gravity. Nor did the enmity of Henry King of Cyprus much trouble him, who challenged the Principality of Antioch, as next of kinne to the Prince deceased: For Reinold met and defeated him in battel, and bestowed Antioch on \* Frederick, base sonne to Frederick the Emperour.

But that which kept both Christians and Turks in aw, and made them willing mutually to observe the truce, was the fear of the Tartars, a fierce nation, which now had their first flight out of their own nest into the neighbouring countreys.

These Tartarians, anciently called Scythians, inhabit the Northern part of Asia, a countrey never conquered by any of the Monarchs, priviledged from their victorious arms chiefly by its own barrenesse: For except souldiers were ambitious of hunger and cold, here is nothing to countervail their pains of an invasion; yea, no meat to maintain them. It is true, rhubarb the best of drugs groweth in this the worst of countreys: But souldiers seek rather for food then physick when they invade a countrey. A greater part of their land is undiscovered, though map-makers, rather then they will have their maps naked and bald, do periwig them with false hair, and fill up the *vacuum* (especially towards the North) with imaginary places of \* *Ung*, and *Gog*, and the plains of *Bargu*: So true it is what one saith wittily in the Comedie, That Phantastes the servant of Geographus travelled further beyond the arctick circle then ever his master durst.

\* See Mercator's maps.

If it be surest to follow the most, the stream of writers make it called Tartaria from the river Tartar: but Europe and Asia will by wofull experience justify the etymologie, if deduced from *Tartarus*, Hell. For when the spring-tides of this nation overflowed the banks, hell might seem to have broken loose, and to have sent so many devils abroad.

As for those that count them the off-spring of the ten tribes of Israel, which Salmanasar led away captive, because *Tatari* or *Totari* signifieth in the Hebrew and Syriack tongue, a *residue* or *remnant*, \* learned men have sufficiently confuted it. And surely it seemeth a forced and overstrained deduction, to fetch the name of Tartars from an Hebrew word, a language so farre distant from them. But no more hereof: because perchance herein the womans reason hath a masculine truth; and the Tartarians are called so, because they are called so. It may be, curious Etymologists (let them lose their wages who work in difficult trifles) seek to reap what was never sown, whilst they study to make those words speak reason, which are onely *voces ad placitum*, imposed at pleasure.

Under their new name Tartarians, they keep their old nature of

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of Scythians, fierce, cruel; yea, sometimes in stead of other meat, making man their meat. \* One humour they have, much affecting the owl, a bird which other nations scorn and hate, as the usher of ill luck. The occasion was this, A King of Tartary fought for by his enemies, hid himself in a bush, whither his foes came to seek him; when presently an owl flew out of the place: Whereupon they desisted from further search, conceiving that that anchorite bird proclaimed nothing was there but solitude and desolation. Hence in gratitude they never count themselves more gay then when their helmets are hung with owls feathers. Whereat I should strange more, but that I find this fowl dedicated to \* Minerva the Goddesse of wit, and that Athens (schoolmistresse of the world) counted it a token of victory. The King of these Tartarians styleth himself, The great Cham, and is monarch of a great part of the world in possession, of the rest in imagination. He taketh and his subjects give him little lesse then divine honour; who in other things at this time were pure Pagans and Idolaters. Now their countrey, which is like a poore man whose common is overstocked with children, swarming with more bees then hives, sent their superfluous numbers to seek their fortunes amongst the Christians. They needed no steel-armour who had iron-bodies. Onely with bows, cruelty, and multitude they overranne Lithuania, Podolia, Polonia, and those countreys which are the East-boudanes of Europe. Others took their way Southward into Asia, committing outrages as they went; and sensible how incomparably their own countrey was surpassed for pleasure and profit by these new lands (blame not their judgement if they preferred a palace before a prison) they little cared to return home.

Their incursions into Europe were so farre and frequent, that Pope Innocent the fourth, about the yeare 1245, began to fear them in Italy. Wherefore he sent Askelin, a Friar much admired in that age, with three other, into Tartaria, to convert that nation to Christianity. Where Askelin in stead of teaching them the elements of our religion, laid this foundation, to amplify to them the power of the Pope, setting him out in his full dimensions; How he was above all men in the Christian world. A good nurse, to feed infants, in stead of milk, with such drie bones: enough almost to affright them from entering into our Church, seeing such a giant as they painted the Pope, to stand before the doore.

But Baiothnoi chief Captain of the Tartarian armie (for they were not admitted to speak with the great Cham himself) cried quits with this Friar, outvying him with the greatnesse and divinity of their Cham; and sent back by them a blunt letter:

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\* Sabell. Enn.  
9. lib. 6. pag.  
391.

\* Vide Erefm.  
Adg. in  
Noctua volat

\* See Briarwoods Enquiries, chap. 13.

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\*Magdeburg.  
Genl. 13. cap.  
2. Sed ex  
Vincent.  
lib. 3. 1. cap. 51

" \* Pope, know this; Thy messengers came and brought letters to us: Thy messengers spake great words; we know not whether thou enjoynest them, or whether they spake of themselves: and in thy letters thou writest thus, Many men you kill, slay, and destroy — At last he thus concluded; If thou wilt set upon our land, water, and patrimony, it becometh that thou, Pope, in thy proper person come unto us; and that thou come to him who containeth the face of the whole earth; meaning their great Cham.

Never did his Holiness so meet with his match before. He durst not meet the great Cham of the East, his competitor in the imaginary monarchie of the world, to trie whose title was truest. Let others tear their skins, he would sleep in a whole one. And indeed that Shepherd loved his flock of Christians better, then by his absence in a long journey into Tartaria to expose them to the wolves. And so the conversion of Tartarie at that time was disappointed.

It is a pretty *quære*, Whether Turks or Tartars be easier convertible to Christian religion: I mean *ex parte objecti*; for otherwise all things are equally easie to an infinite agent. Now it seemeth the Tartars are reducible with most facility to our religion: For pure Paganisme and native Infidelity, like white cloth, will take the tincture of Christianity; whereas the Turks are soiled and stained with the irreligious religion of Mahometanisme, which first with much pains must be scourged out of them. And though they may seem to be in some forwardnesse to conversion, because they have a kind of knowledge and reverence of Christ, yet the best joynt of their belief must be broken before it can be well set, and every drop of their present religion pumped out before true faith be infused into them. And experience, the most competent witness here-in, hath proved, That afterwards more Tartars, both private men and Princes, then Turks of either condition, have embraced Christianity. Enough at this time; we shall have occasion too soon to speak more of the Tartars.

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Chap. 3.

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*The Greeks recover their Empire from the Latines; The Holy warre thereby much endamaged.*

IT was conceived that it would be much beneficiall to the Pilgrimes in their voyages to Palestine, that the Latines were lately possessed of the Grecian Empire: For what is saved, is gained: And grant that the Latines in Greece should not actually assist in the Holy warre, yet it was a considerable advantage what all justly expected, That Pilgrimes should now have safe and secure passage through Grecia, the pitfall which formerly had devoured so many.

But these fair hopes soon miscarried. For what through the celerity of Theodorus Lascaris, and the gravity of John Ducas his sonne in law, who reigned as Grecian Emperours in Nice, the Greeks recovered every foot of ground that the Latines had wonne from them: Onely the Venetians being good at holdfast, kept their portion when all others had spent theirs, and enjoy Candie to this day. This is imputed to their discretion in their choice, who in the sharing of this Empire amongst the Western Princes, refused the continent countreys (though greater in extent, and richer in cities) and chose rather the Islands, which being as little worlds in themselves, were most capable of entire fortifications, especially in their way, who were most powerfull at sea.

Sixty yeares almost did the Latines make a hard shift to hold Constantinople, under five succeeding Emperours: 1. Baldwin the first, Earl of Flanders; 2. Henry his brother; 3. Peter, Count of Auxerre in France, Henrie's sonne in law; 4. Robert; 5. Baldwin the second, and last. An example which the observers of the ominous circulation or return of names alledge, That as a Baldwin was the first, so a Baldwin was the last Latine Emperour in Grecia.

Of these, the first Baldwin had his hands and feet cut off, and died in a ditch; Peter invited to a feast, payed the shot with his life; the other three died without any violence, but with much misery. And thus their conquest of Grecia, like a little sprig stuck into the ground, did sprout at the first whilest it had any sap in it, but then withered for want of a root.

Indeed it was impossible long to continue: For when the generation of the primitive adventurers in this action were dead, there wanted another to succeed them; and the countreys whence

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whence they came were so farre off that supplies of Latine people came thither very slowly. Ohely Venice well peopled her parts from the vicinity of her dominions. And that number of souldiers which is sufficient by sudden conquest to overcome a countrey, is incompetent without a second edition of new supplies, to make good, manage, and maintain it: especially being to meddle with the Greeks, farre exceeding them in number, subject onely out of fear, longing daily for their liberty and opportunity to recover it.

Let never any Pilgrimes hereafter make Greece their inne in their journey to Palestine. Yea, also at this time the furnace of the Grecian jealousy was made seven times hotter: For besides this Civil, an Ecclesiasticall and Spirituall breach happened betwixt them and the Latines; which we come now to describe.

### Chap. 4.

#### *The incurable breach betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches, with the occasion thereof.*

Hitherto Grecians and Latines lived together in Palestine in some tolerable correspondencie; differing in judgement, but complying in affections; as counting themselves two severall sides, yet both making up the body of Christians. But now by an unhappy discord they were irreconcilably parted asunder, to the great advantage of the Turks and prejudice of the Holy warre. We will fetch this flame from the first spark; and though we go farre about, the length of the journey will be recompensed by the goodnesse of the way.

Anciently in the primitive time the Church of Rome was esteemed the first and chiefe of all others, but without any jurisdiction above them. Because that was the Imperiall citie and Queen of the world, therefore the Church therein was highest in account; as the candle which is in the fairest candlestick is alwayes set above the rest (though otherwise equall unto it in light) at the upper end of the table.

It happened afterward that the Emperour removed his seat from Rome to Constantinople: Whereupon orphan Rome suddenly decayed (for the Emperours court carried day with it, and left night behind it) was chief mourner at the funeralls of her own greatnesse; and from a pleasant garden turned a wilderness overgrown with Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous weeds: whilst Constantinople tricked and tired her self,

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started up in an instant great, rich, and stately; in so much that John her Patriarch claimed to be universall Bishop above all other. Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, stoutly withstood him, protesting that he was the usher of Antichrist who assumed that swelling title, wherein he beared the brand to mark his successour with: For Boniface (save one, the next) Pope of Rome so dealt with Phocas the Emperour of Constantinople, that he got himself confirmed universall Bishop over the whole world. A Chaplain and a Patrone well met, both usurpers, supporting one another (like stones in an arch) with their reciprocal aid; Phocas held Boniface in his chair, and Boniface kept Phocas in his throne. And thus was the Pope of Rome first possessed of his Primacie both of dignity and authority, both of precedencie & of power and jurisdiction over all other Churches. As for his pretense, to challenge it by commission from Christ and succession from Peter, this string to his bow is so full of gauls, frets, and knots, it cannot hold; and is broken by many learned Divines.

However, Constantinople rather overborn then overcome, for want rather of strength then stomach, ever rebelled, or rather resisted (for no rebellion against usurpation) Romes supremacy (especially when she found her self befriended with any advantage) for many hundred yeares after.

It happened (to come to the matter in hand) that a Grecian \* Archbishop went to Rome, there to have his confirmation. Where the Court demanded of him such unreasonable fees (toll more then the grist) that the Prelate perceived it would weaken him to be confirmed, and shake his estate to settle him in his Bishoprick. Home therefore he cometh with a loud alarm against the extortions of Rome, and mustereth together many of his countrey-men; who hereupon for ever withdrew their obedience from Rome, and threw off that heavy yoke they could not bear, hereafter owning her for their sister not mother.

It may seem strange that the Romane Court being here justly taxed for extortion, would not amend it. But how often soever she be told of her dirty face, she will never wash it: For reforming would argue a former fault; and they feared, if they yielded themselves guilty in one point, it would shake the whole fabrick of their credit. Besides, if the Grecians had received satisfaction and redresse in this grievance, it would have given them pretense to prepare more requests, and to think that they also were due. Lastly, no strength of perswasion will draw men from those finnes which are glued unto them by their profit. Thus the avarice of the Romish officers (as of late the shamefull shamelesse covetousnesse of their Indulgence-mongers

\* Matth. Pa-  
rif. in anno  
1237. pag.  
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mongers occasioned Luthers falling from them) caused the Grecians wholly to renounce their subjection to that See: and Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople now grew absolute of himself, without any dependencie on the Pope.

His Holiness despairing to reduce them by fair means, proclaimed warre against them. And as formerly against the Albingenses, so now against the Grecians, resolved to send an army of \* Croised souldiers: It being his custome to make the secular power little better then an hangman to execute those he shall please to condemn: Yea, he hath turned the back of the sword towards Infidels, and the edge against Christians dissenting from him in small matters. But few voluntaries were found for this service, because of a pious horror and religious reluctancie against so odious an employment: Onely in \* Cyprus (I beleve in a private persecution rather then open warre) some Grecians were put to death; the Pope, using the same severity against wolves and wandring sheep, foes and prodigall children.

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\* Matth. Paris, in anno 1237. pag. 622.

\* Idem, pag. 614.

## Chap. 5.

*Wherein the Greeks dissent from the Latines; What must charitably be conceived of them.*

BESIDES their rejecting of the Popes both Ecclesiasticall and Temporall tyranny, the Greeks differ from the Latines in other matters of moment: For they maintain the procession of the holy Spirit from the Father alone. As for their other tenets, they stand in some middle terms of opinion betwixt Papists and Protestants; yet so, that they approach nearer the Papists in more, to us in more weighty and dominative points. With Rome they concur in Transubstantiation, in the whole sacrifice of the Masse, in praying to Saints and for the dead, in Auricular Confession, in worshipping of Pictures (onely of Christ and our Lady) but all Images they detest; a kind of Purgatory they hold, but not in hell or the skirts thereof, nor by any outward torment. With us they consent in the Sufficiency of the Scriptures to salvation, in denying the Infallibility of the Church (much more of the Pope) the overplus of Merits, Service understood, Indulgences, Liberaties out of Purgatorie, and the like.

Hereupon the Romanists condemn them all for hereticks and castaways, killing more then a third of all Christians (as Cain did a quarter of mankind with a blow) with this their uncharitable

See Edw. Sand. Relig. of the West, pag. 233, & 234.

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table censure. But heaven-gate was not so easily shut against Multitudes when S. Peter himself wore the keyes at his girdle. And let us not with rash judging thrust all into the pit of hell whom we see walking neare the brink thereof. We shall think better of them if we consider, That

First, their tenets wherein they dissent from the Romanists are found enough, save that of the holy Ghost. Concerning which it is an usefull *quare*, Whether, granting the first authours and ringleaders of that error in a bad condition, there be not some favour to be allowed to those who in simplicity succeed to hereditary errors received from their ancestors, if they do not wilfully barre nor bolt their eyes against the beams of the truth, but be willing (as we charitably conceive of the Greeks) to receive and embrace better instruction.

Secondly, the Master of the Sentences (waited on herein with other \* learned men) is of opinion, That in the sense of the Greek Church, *A Filio* and *Per Filium* is no real difference, but a question *in modo loquendi*. Sure it would have grated the foundation, if they had so denied the procession of the holy Ghost from the Sonne as thereby to make an inequality betwixt the two Persons: But since their form of speech is, That the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father by the Sonne, and is the Spirit of the Sonne, without making any difference in the consubstantiality of the Persons, their doctrine may passe with a favourable interpretation.

Thirdly, our quickest sight in the matters of the Trinity is but one degree above blindness. Wherefore, as concerning it, let our piety lodge there where in other disputes the deceit of sophisters used to nestle it self, namely, *in universalibus*, in large and generall expressions, and not descend to curious particulars. To search into the manner of the Spirits procession, is neither manners nor religion, and rather falleth under an awfull adoration and belief then an exact and curious enquire.

Lastly, this their tenet doth not infect any other point in Divinity with its poysonous inferences. Some errors are worse in their train then in themselves, which (as the Dragon in the Revelation drew down a third part of the starres with his tail) by their bad consequences pervert other points of religion: But this Grecian opinion (as learned men propound it) concerning the holy Ghost, hath this happinesse, that it is barren, and begetteth no other bad tenets from it, being entire in it self.

More may be alledged for the lessening of this error: But grant it in its full extent, yet surely the moderate judgement of that learned \* Divine whose memory smelleth like a *Field* the Lord hath blessed, will abide triall; who in effect thus concludeth, Their schismes are sinfull, wicked, and inexcusable; their doctrine

\* Bonavent. 1. Sent. dist. 11. art. 1. quest. 1. Scotus, 1. Sent. dist. 1. quest. 1. To. Aquin. part. 1. quest. 36. art. 2.

\* In his third book of the Church, chap. 5.



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\* *Effim. diff.*  
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doctrine dangerous, but not so damnable as excluding from all possibility of salvation.

As for the observation of a \* Schoolman, That afterwards the Turks wonne Constantinople on Whitsunday, the day dedicated to the memoriall of the holy Spirit, as if God herein pointed at the sinne of the Grecians in dishonouring the holy Ghost, we leave it to the readers discretion, desiring rather to be scepticall then definitive in the causes of Gods judgements.

### Chap. 6.

*A comparative estimate of the extent of the Greek and Latine Church; What hope of reconcilment betwixt them; The influence this breach had on the Holy warre.*

IF that religion were surely the best which is of the greatest latitude and extent, Surveyers of land were fitter then Divines to judge of the best religion. Neither is it any matter of great moment to measure the greatnesse of either Church: But because Rome maketh her Univerfality such a masterpiece to boast of, let us see if the Greek Church may not outshoot her in her own bow.

If we begin with the Grecian Church in Africa under the Patriarch of Alexandria, thence proceeding into Asia, and fetch a compasse about Syria, Armenia, Asia the lesse, with Cyprus, Candie, and other Islands in the mid-land-sea, and so come into Grecia; if hence we go into Russia and Muscovia (who though differing in ceremonies, dissent not in doctrine; as a sundry dialect maketh not a severall language) to take onely entire Kingdomes, and omit parcels: it is a larger quantity of ground then that the Romish religion doth stretch to, since Luther cut so large a collop out of it, and withdrew North-Europe from obedience to his Holinesse.

Perchance the Romanists may plead they have lately improved the patrimony of their religion by new purchases in both Indies: But who knoweth not that those people, rather watered then baptized, affrighted with cruelty into Christianity, deserve not to be accounted settled and well-grounded professors of their religion?

As for reconciliation betwixt the Grecians and Latines, it is utterly improbable, except the Greeks submit to the Popes Primacie, which they will never do. No hope then of their meeting together, when neither party will stirre step towards other.

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True it is, some fourty yeares since (*anno 1194*) the Bishops of little Russia (a countrey following the Eastern Church, but under the King of Poland) on condition they would accept the Popes\* supremacie, were dispensed with, and permitted in other matters to adhere to the Greek Church, and keep union with it; the Pope manifesting herein, that he aimeth not so much at the reduction of the Greeks to the truth as to his own obedience.

Besides the hatred they have against the Popes pride, another great hindrance of the union is the small intercourse the Eastern Christians have or desire to have with the Western. They live amongst the Turks, and are grown to be contented slaves; and having long since parted with their hopes, now almost have lost their desire of liberty.

We must not forget, how some fifty yeares ago solemn news was reported in Rome, that the \* Patriarch of Alexandria, with all the Greek Church in Africa, by their Embassadours had submitted and reconciled themselves to the Pope, and from him received Absolution and Benediction: All which was a politick lie, perchance therefore reported, that it might make impression in the minds, and raise and confirm the spirits of the vulgar, who easily beleve all that their betters tell them. And though afterwards this report was controlled to be false, yet mens spirits then being cold, were not so sensible of it as before: and the former news came to many mens eares who never heard afterwards of the check and confutation thereof. Nor is there any State in the world that maketh such use and advantage, as the Papall doth, of false news. To conclude; As it is a maxime in Philosophy, *Ex quibus constamus, ex iisdem nutrimur*: so a great part of their religion consisting of errors and falshoods, it is suitable that accordingly it should be kept up and maintained with forgeries and deceipts.

To return to Palestine; This rent (not in the seam but whole cloth) betwixt these Churches was no mean hindrance to the Holy warre. Formerly the Greeks in Syria were not so clearly cut asunder from the Latines, but that they hung together by one great sinew in the common cause, agreeing against the Turk the enemy to both: But since this last breach, the Greeks did in their desires propend and incline to the Turks, being better contented they should conquer, from whom they should have fair quarter, free exercise of their religion, and secure dwelling in any citie, paying a set tribute; then the Latines, who they feared would force their consciences, and bring their souls in subjection to the Popes supremacie. Expect we then never hereafter, that either their hearts or hands should afford any assistance to our Pilgrimes in their designs.

\* Some conceive, that at this day if the Western Christians should

\* *Possvein. in Apparatu sacro, in Rutheni. Ste Brierwood: Enquiries, chap. 18.*

\* *St. Edw. Sand. west. Relig. pag. 100.*

\* *Idem, pag. 242.*



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should stoutly invade Turkie with any likelihood to prevail, the Greeks therein would runne to aid them. But others are of a contrary judgement; considering, First, the inveterate and in-laid hatred (not to be washed off) they bear the Latines: Secondly, the jealousie they have that they will never keep promise with them, who have alwayes a warrant dormant from the Pope to break all contracts prejudiciall to the Romish Church: Thirdly, that custome and long continuance in slavery have so hardened and brawned their shoulders, the yoke doth not wring them so much: yea, they had rather suffer the Turks, being old full flies, to suck them, then to hazard their galled backs to new hungry ones: finding by experience, That they themselves live on better terms of servitude under the Turk, lesse grated and grinded with exactions, then some of their countrey-men do under the Latines; for instance, in Zante and Candie under the Venetians.

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Chap. 7.

*Theobald King of Navarre maketh an unsuc-  
cessfull voyage into Palestine.*

THE ten yeares truce by this time was expired which Frederick made with the Turks; and Reinold Vice-roy of Palestine by instructions from him concluded another truce of the \* same term with them. He saw that this young Christian Kingdome of Jerusalem, like an infant, would thrive best with sleeping, with peace and quietnesse: Nor was it any policie for him to move at all, where there was more danger to hurt then hope to help their present estate.

But though this peace was honourable and profitable, having no fault but that Frederick made it; yet the Templars who did not relish the father, must needs distast the child: They complained that this peace was not used as a slumber to refresh the souldiers spirits, but as a lethargie to benumme their valour; and chiefly snarled at this indignity, That the Turks had access to the temple of the Sepulchre, and that Goats had free commonage in the Sheeps pasture. Wherefore Pope Gregory, to \* despite the Emperour Frederick, caused the Dominicans and Franciscans his trumpeters, to incite people to the Holy warre. These were two twin-orders, but the Dominicane the eldest; which now were no sooner hatched in the world, but presently chirped in the pulpits. In that age Sermons were news, and meat for Princes not common men: Yea, the Albingenses with

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\*Magdeburg.  
Cent. 13. cap.  
16. Decennas  
inducias  
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their preaching had drowned the voices of secular Priests, if these two Orders had not helped to out-noise those supposed hereticks. These amplified with their rhetoricke the calamity of the Christians, tyrannie of the Turks, merit of the cause, probability of successe; performing their parts with such gravity, shew of devotion, accents of passion, not glued on for the present purpose but so naturall as from true affection, that many were wooed to undertake the voyage: Principally, Theobald King of Navarre, Almerick Earl of Montfort, Henry of Champagne, Peter Earl of Bretaine, with many others of inferiour rank.

Ships they had none; wherefore they were faine to shape their passage by land through Grecia: where they were entertained with treachery, famine, and all the miseries which wait on distressed armies. These came last that way, & (I may say) shut the doore: For no Christian army ever after went that tedious journey by land.

Having passed the Bosporus, they marched into Bithynia: thence through Galatia they came unto the mountain Taurus; where they were much damnified by the Turks, who fell on and off upon them, as they were advised by their own advantages. The Christians desired no other gift but that a set battel might be given them; which the Turks would not grant, but played at distance and would never close. But with much ado the Christians recovered to Antioch, having scarce a third part of them left, their horses all dead, and themselves scarce mounted on their legs, miserably weak; as what the mercy of sword, plague, and famine had pleased to spare.

Hence the Templars conducted them to Gaza; where they fell on foraging the countrey of the Sultan, assaulting no places which were of strength, or honour to subdue, but onely spoiled poore villages, which counted themselves walled with the truce as yet in force. Abundance of wealth they got, and were now late returning home, when after their plentifull supper a deare & sharp reckoning was called for: Behold the Turks in great numbers fell upon them neare unto Gaza; and the Christians down with their bundles of spoil, and out with their swords, bravely defending themselves till such time as the night parted the fray. Here they committed a great error, and (as one may say) a neglect in over-diligence: for in stead of reposing themselves to rest, and appointing a set watch, they all lay in a manner *Perdues*, no one slumbering all night, but attending their enemies; contrary to the rules of an armie, which with Argus should never have all its eyes wake or sleep together. Next morning when the Turks, whose numbers were much increased, set upon them, alas! they being but few to many, faint to fresh, were not able to make any forcible resistance: Yet,

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what they could not pay in present, they pawned their lives for; and their arms being too weak for their hearts, they were rather killed then conquered. Earl Henry was slain, Almerick taken prisoner, the King of Navarre escaped by the swiftnesse of his Spanish gennet; which race, for their winged speed, the Poets feigned to be begot of the wind.

Mean time the other Christians looked on, and saw their brethren slaughtered before their eyes; and yet though they were able to help them, were not able to help them, their hands being tied with the truce, and Reinoldus charging them no way to infringe the peace concluded with the Sultan. Hereupon many cursed him as the Christians cut-throat; he as fast condemned the King of Navarre and his army for breaking the truce. And though the Papall faction pleaded that the former peace concluded not these late adventurers, and that it was onely made with Frederick the Emperour; yet he representing the whole body of Christianity, all the bundle of their shifts could not piece out a satisfactory answer, but that they were guilty of faith-breaking.

Home hastened the King of Navarre with a small retinue, clouding himself in privatenesse; as that adour who cometh off with the dislike of the spectators, stealeth as invisibly as he may into the tiring-house. Expectation, that friendly foe, did him much wrong; and his performance fell the lower, because men heightened their looking for great matters from him.

### Chap. 8.

*Richard Earl of Cornwall saileth to the Holy land; His performance there, and the censure thereof.*

\* Matth. Pav. pag. 670.

\* Camden, in Cornwall.

\* Fifteen dayes after the departure of Theobald, Richard Earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry the third then King of England, landed at Ptolemais. This Prince was our English Cræsus, or Cræsus; Cornwall was his Indies, where he turned tinne into gold and silver. So well-moneyed he was, that for ten yeares together he might for every day expend an hundred marks: So that England never since had together a poorer King and a richer Subject.

Before he began his voyage he craved a subsidie of prayers from the Monks of S. Albanes: Yea, scarce was there any Convent appearing for piety, to whose devotions he recommended

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not himself; counting that ship to sail the surest which is driven with the breath of godly mens prayers. Theodoricus Lord Prior of the English Hospitallers, with many other Barons and brave souldiers attending him, passed through France, and was there honourably entertained by King Lewis.

Being come to the Mediterranean sea, the Popes Legate brought him a flat countermand, that he must go no further, but instantly return. Richard at first was astonished hereat: but quickly his anger got the mastery of his amazement, and he fell on fuming; \* Was this Christs Vicar? Unlike was he to him, who was thus unlike to himself, who would say and unsay, solemnly summon, then suddenly cashier his Holy souldiers. This was deluding of peoples devotions with false alarms, to make them put their armour on to put it off again. As for his own self, he had vowed this voyage, his honour and treasure was engaged therein, and the Pope should not blast his settled resolutions with a breath: his ships were manned, victualled, and sailing forward; and in such great actions the setting forth is more then half the journey.

All know his Holinesse to be too wary an archer to shoot away his arrows at nothing. He had a mark herein, a plot in this restraint, but that too deep for others to fathom. It could not be this, To make this rich Earl (a fish worth angling for) to commute his voyage into money, and to buy a dispensation of his Holinesse to stay at home, as formerly he had served many meaner Pilgrimes. Surely though the Popes covetousnesse might have prompted, his wisdom would have dissuaded him from a project spunne with so course a thread.

On saileth Earl Richard, and safely arriveth at Ptolemais; where he is well welcomed, especially by the Clergie, solemnly singing, \* *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.* He proclaimed, No Christian should depart for want of pay; for he would entertain any, and give them good wages that would do work in this warre. But he found the Christians there shivered into severall factions, and the two great Orders, Hospitallers and Templars, two great confusions of the Holy cause. Of these the Hospitallers were the seniors in standing, their original being dated eighteen yeares before the Templars; and therefore challenged superiority. But that which made the younger brother so brisk, was, that he was his fathers darling. The Templars in all their broils had support from the Pope, because the others were suspected to have a smack of the Imperiall faction. This made them active, daring, offering of affronts: And what country-men soever the Templars were, they were alwayes Italians, that is, true to the Triple Crown. These being madded with ambition, were the more outrageous for their high fare

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\* Matth. Pav. in Hen. 3. pag. 719.

\* Idem, pag. 729.

(their great revenues) and deserved to be dieted with a poorer pittance, except they would have used their strength better. Our Earl knew, to please one side would certainly displease the other, and to please both would probably please neither. Wherefore he managed his matters entirely to himself, without relating to either of the parties, taking no ground of their giving, but bowling at the publick good by the aim of his own eye.

\* Called anciently Arabia Petrea, Tyrim, lib. 2.1. cap. 5.

The Sultans in Syria (for the Turkish power there was divided into severall Sultanies, as those of Damascus, \*Cracci, Sciffer, but Babylon the chiefeft) hearing of Richards preparations, profered peace unto him. But whilest as yet the conditions were in suspence, Richard fortified Askelon (in all the bunch there was not a better key, or harbour of more importance) not onely to strength but state, with marble pillars and statues; though the silent ruines thereof at this day confesse not to the beholders that any such cost was ever bestowed there. He also caused the corpses of the Christians killed at the late battel at Gaza, and hitherto unburied, decently to be interred; and appointed an annuall salarie to a Priest to pray for their souls. Hereby he had the happinesse with little cost to purchase much credit; and the living being much taken with kindnesse to the dead, this burying of those Christians, with pious persons wonne him as much repute as if he killed so many Turks.

At last the truce for ten yeares was concluded with the Sultan; all Christian captives were discharged and set free, many sorts of them restored, and matters for the main reduced to the same estate they were at the first peace with Frederick the Emperour: and Richard returning through Sicily and by Rome, where he visited his Holinesse, safely came home to England: Where he was welcomed with bad news, that a discontented Cornish man, banished for his misdemeanours, had found out tinne-mines in \*Bohemia; which afterwards more asswaged the swelling of this Earls bags then all his voyage to Palestine: For till that time that metall was onely fetched from England, which afforded meat to some forrein countreys, and dishes to all.

His voyage was variouly censured: The Templars which consented not to the peace, flouted thereat, as if all this while he had laboured about a difficult nothing, and as good never a whit as never the better, for the agreement would never hold long. Others thought he had abundantly satisfied any rationall expectation: For he \*compelled, faith one, the Saracens to truce, (a strange compulsion without violence, except the shewing of a scabbard) he restored many to the life of their life, their liberty; which alone was worth all his pains; the peace he concluded

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\* Matib. Paris. pag. 765.

\* Camden in Cornwall.

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cluded was honourable; and a cheap Olive-branch is better then deare Bayes.

Two of our English Richards were at Palestine; one famous for drawing his sword, the other his purse. He was also remarkable herein, that he brought all his men and ships safe home (next of kin to a miracle) and none will deny, but that in such dangerous adventures a saver is a gainer. One good he got hereby, This journey brought him into play amongst forrein Princes; henceforward the beyond-sea-world took notice of him, and he of it. Never would he have had the face to have courted the Crown Imperiall, if these his travels had not put boldnesse and audacity into him, which made him afterwards a stiff rivall to bid for the Empire of Germany.

### Chap. 9.

#### *The Corasines cruelly sack the city of Jerusalem, and kill the Christians therein.*

**A**Bout this time (though we find not the punctuall date thereof) happened the death of Reinoldus Fredericks Lieutenant in Syria, who by his moderation had been a good benefactor to the Holy warre. But the Templars counted him to want metall, because he would not be mad and causelessly break the truce with the Sultan. In his grave was buried the happinesse of the Christians in Palestine: for now the lawlesse Templars observe no other rule but their own will.

And now the inundation of the Tartarians in spite of all dammes and banks overranne the North of Asia, and many nations fled from their own countreys for fear of them. Amongst other the Corasines (called by some Choermiines, and Groisfoms) a fierce and warlike people, were notwithstanding by the Tartarians forced to forsake their land.

Being thus unkennelled, they had their recourse to the Sultan of Babylon, and petitioned him to bestow some habitation upon them. Their suit he could neither safely grant nor deny: A deniall would egge their discontents into desperatenesse; and such sturdy dangerous vagabonds might do much harm: to admit them to be joynt-tenants in the same countrey with the Turks, was a present inconvenience, and would be a future mischief. In stead therefore of giving them a house, he sent them to a work-houfe; yet so, that they apprehended it a great courtesie done unto them: For he bestowed on them all the lands which the Christians held in Palestine; liberall to give away what

Matib. Paris. pag. 851.

what was none of his, and what the others must purchase before they could enjoy. The Sultan encouraged them to invade that countrey, whose people he pretended were weak and few, the land wealthy and fruitfull, so that the conquest would be easie, especially they having his assistance in the present service, and perpetuall patronage hereafter.

Animated herewith in come the Corasines with their wives and children (bringing their households with them to win houses and lands for them) into Syria, and march directly to Jerusalem; which being a weak and unfortified place, was taken without resistance. Weak and unfortified! Strange! It is confessed on all sides, that Frederick the Emperour and Reinoldus his Lieutenant spared no expense in strengthening this city, since which time we find no solemn taking it by the Turks: Who then can expect lesse then an impregnable place, where so much cost was sown? Which driveth us to conceive one of these three things; Either that the weaknesse of this citie was chiefly in the defenders hearts; Or else that formerly there happened some blind and silent spoiling of this place not mentioned by Authours; Or lastly, that Jerusalem was a Jericho, I mean, a place cursed in building; like Pharaohs lean kine, never a whit the fatter for devouring much meat; and which still went in rags, though her friends bestowed change of raiment upon her.

Thus this city, after that it had been possessed fifteen yeares by the Christians, was wonne by this barbarous people, never since regained to our religion. Sleep, Jerusalem, sleep in thy ruines, at this day of little beauty and lesse strength, famous onely for what thou hast been.

The Christians flying out of Jerusalem with their families, took their course towards Joppa; but looking back, beheld their own ensignes advanced on the citie-walls, so done in policie by their enemies. Whereupon their credulity thus commented, That their fellows had beaten the Corasines in Jerusalem, and by these \* banners invited them to return: But going back, they found but cold (or rather too hot) entertainment, being slain every mothers child of them. Dull nostrils! not to sent so stale and rank a stratageme of their foes, so often used, so easily defeated; not to send some spies to tast the bait before all swallowe it. But men marked out for destruction, will runne their own heads into the halter.

Chap.

\* Matth. P. 19, pag. 835.

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Chap. 10.

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*Robert Patriarch of Jerusalem, with the whole strength of the Christians, conquered by the Corasines.*

The desperatenesse of the disease priviledgeth the taking of any Physick. The Christians being now in deep distresse, resolved on a dangerous course, but (as their case stood) thought necessary: For they made peace with the Sultan of Damascus and Seiffer, and with the Sultan of Cracci; (These were Dynastes in Syria of some good strength, and were at discord with the Sultan of Babylon) and swearing them to be faithfull, borrowed an armie of their forces, with them joyntly to resist the Corasines; seeking, faith \* Frederick the Emperour, to find *fidem in perfidia*, trust in treachery. Many suspected these auxiliary forces; thinking, though the Forrest-wolves fell out with the mountain ones, they would both agree against the sheep.

Robert Patriarch of Jerusalem was a most active commander over all. S. Lukes day was the time agreed upon for the fatall battel; neare Tiberias was the place. As the Christians were ordering themselves in aray, it was questioned in what part of their armie their new Turkish assistants should be disposed, and concluded that they should be placed in the front, where if they did no other good, they would dull the appetite of their enemies sword. This is thought to have been a notorious error, and cause of their overthrow. For though those souldiers who mean to be false, will never be made faithfull in what place soever they be bestowed, yet may they be made lesse dangerous if cast into the body or main battel of the army, whence they have no such scope to fling out, and to take advantage of place to do mischief, as they have either in the front or wings thereof. Thus in Cesars time, Crassus an experienced Generall under him being to bid the Gauls battel, \* *auxiliares copias, quibus ad pugnam non multum confidebat, in mediam aciem collocavit*; that so being hemmed in before and behind, they might be engaged to fight manfully without starting away. And to instance in later times, our Richard the third (who though he usurped the Crown, had, as none will deny, a true title both to prowess and martiall policie) marching to Bosworth, placed \* suspected persons (whose bodies were with him and hearts with Earl Henry) in the midst; and those whom he most trusted, before, behind, and on every side.

The battel being joynd, the \* Turks ranne over to the other side,

\* In his letter to Richard of Cornwall.

\* Cæs. lib. 3. De bello Gallico.

\* Cæsi. in Rich. 3. fol. 101.

\* Matth. P. 19, pag. 834.

side; though some braved them onely with cowardlinesse not treachery, and that they fled from the battel but not fell to the enemies. The Christians manfully stood to it, and though over-powered in number, made a great slaughter of their enemies, till at last they were quite overthrown. Of the Teutonic Order escaped but three; of three hundred Templars, but eighteen; of two hundred Hospitallers, but nineteen: The Patriarch (to use his own words) whom God reputed unworthy of martyrdom, saved himself by flight, with a few others. And this great overthrow, to omit lesse partner-causes, is chiefly imputed to the Templars former so often breaking the truce with the Sultan of Babylon.

Thus were the Christians conquered by the Corasines, and beaten by a beaten nation, Palestine being wonne by those who could not keep their own country. Improving this victorie they left nothing to the Christians but Tyre, Ptolemais, and Antioch, with some few forts. Soon after, these Corasines elated herewith fell out with the Sultan himself; who in anger rooted out their nation, so that \* none of their name remained: Yea, \* all writers are silent of them both before this time and ever after: as if God at this very instant had created this people to punish Christians; which service performed, they were annihilated again.

\* Matth. P. vii. pag. 475.  
\* Except any make them to be Chorasini, a people placed by Aibek in the East of Persia.

## Chap. II.

*Lewis the ninth setteth forward against the Turks;  
The occasion of his journey, and his attendants.*

SOME two yeares after, Lewis the ninth of that name, King of France, came to assist the Christians. The occasion of his voyage, this; He had been visited with a desperate sicknesse, insomuch that all art cried craven, as unable to help him; and the Physicians resigned him to Divines, to begin with him where they ended: They also gave him over; and for a while he lay in a trance, not the least breath brought news of any life left in him. Then Blanch the Queen-mother (and Queen of mothers for her care of her sonne and his Kingdome) \* applied a piece of the Crosse unto him. Thereat (whether thereby, let others dispute) he revived and recovered; and thereupon was Croised, and in thankfulness bound himself with a vow to sail to the Holy land. But his Nobility dissuaded him from that designe: The dangers were certain, the successe would be doubtful of so long a journey; his own Kingdome would be left desolate,

\* Matth. P. vii. pag. 880.  
Et P. Ruy. in D. Ludov. pag. 214.

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solate, and many mischiefs unseen as yet, would appear in his absence: Besides, his vow was made in his sicknesse, whilst reason was scarce as yet in the peaceable possession of his mind, because of the remnant-dregs of his disease: It might also be dispensed with by the Pope; yea, his deserts did challenge so much from his Holinesse. King Lewis, as perwaded hereat, laid down the Crosse to the great comfort and contentment of all the beholders: But then \* altering his countenance, he required the Crosse should be restored to him again, and vowed to eat no bread untill he was recognized with the Pilgrimes badge. And because his vow should suffer no diminution or abatement from his disease, now no longer Lewis the sick, but Lewis the sound undertook the Holy warre. His Nobles seeing him too stiff to be unbent, and counting it a kind of sacrilegious counsel to dissuade him from so pious a work, left him to his own resolutions. There went along with him his two brothers, Charles Earl of Anjou, Robert Earl of Artois, his own Queen, and their Ladies, Odo the Popes Legate, Hugh Duke of Burgundie, William Earl of Flanders, Hugh Earl of St-Paul, and William Longspath Earl of Sarisbury with a band of valiant English men, who went without licence from Henry King of England: For in those dayes this doctrine went currant, That their Princes leave was rather of complement then essentiall to their voyage; as if the band of this Holy warre was an acquittance from all others. Our Henry displeased at this Earls departure, for his disobedience: deprived him of his Earldome and castle of Sarisbury, not suffering that sheep to graze in his pasture which would not own him for his shepherd. William also sonne to this \* Earl, smarting for his fathers fault, never enjoyed that honour. And though King Henry himself being a Prince of more devotion then policie, did most affectionately tender this Holy cause, yet he used this necessary severity towards this Earl at this time; first, because it would weaken his land thus to be dispeopled of martiall men. secondly, his subjects forwardnesse might be interpreted a secret check of his own backwardnesse in that warre; thirdly, the sucking in of forrein aire did wean people from their naturall Prince, and did insensibly usher into their hearts an alienation from their own Sovereigne, and a dependence on the King of France; lastly, he had some thoughts on that voyage himself, and reserved such prime Peers to attend on his own person thither.

The Pope gave to this King Lewis his charges, the tenth of the Clergies revenues through France for three yeares; and the King employed the Popes collectors to gather it, knowing those leaches were the best suckers. Hereupon the states of the Clergie were shaved as bare as their crowns; and a poore Priest who

\* Fox, Martynolog. pag. 293.

\* Camden, in Wiltshire.

1246

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\* *Matib. Pa-  
rif. in anno  
1246. pag.  
943.*

*Faz. Maritimo  
1246. pag. 292.*

\* *Matib. Pa-  
rif. pag. 991.*

had but twenty shillings annuall pension, was forced to pay two yearly to the King: And this by my \* Authour is made the cause of his following ill successe, there being much extortion used by his under-officers. No wonder then if the wings of that armie did quickly flag, having so heavy a weight of curses hanging upon them. And though money be the sinews of warre, yet ill-gotten money, like gouty sinews, rather paineth then strengtheneth. True it is, that this pious King was no way guilty thereof, but such as were under him; and oftentimes the head doth ach for the ill vapours of the stomach. He himself most princely caused to be proclaimed through his realm, If any merchant or other had been at any time injured by the Kings exactours, either by oppression or borrowing of money, let him bring forth his bill, shewing how and wherein, and he should be recompensed. How this was performed we find not; but it was a good lenitive plaister to affwage the peoples pain for the present.

Having at Lyons took his leave of the Pope, and a blessing from him, he marched towards Avignon: Where some of the city wronged his souldiers, especially with foul language. Wherefore his Nobles desired him that he would besiege the citie, the rather because it was suspected that therein his father was poisoned. To whom Lewis most Christianly, I come not out of France to \* revenge my own quarrels, or those of my father or mother, but injuries offered to Jesus Christ. Hence he went without delay to his navie, and committed himself to the sea.

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## Chap. 12.

*Lewis arriveth in Cyprus; The conversion of the  
Tartarians hindred; The treachery of the  
Templars.*

Sailing forward with a prosperous wind, he safely arrived in Cyprus; where Alexius Lusignan King of the Island entertained him according to the stateliest hospitality. Here the pestilence (one of the ready attendants on great armies) began to rage: And though a French \* writer saith it was *minax magis quam funesta*, yet we find in others, that two hundred and fourty Gentlemen of note died by force of the infection.

Hither came the Embassadors from a great Tartarian Prince (but surely not from Cham himself) invited by the fame of King Lewis his piety, professing to him, That he had renounced his

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\* *P. Amyl.  
in Ludov. 9.  
pag. 215.*

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his Paganisme, and embraced Christianity; and that he intended to send messengers to Pope Innocent to be further instructed in his religion. But some Christians which were in Tartary dissuaded him from so doing, lest the Tartarians coming to Rome should behold the dissoluteness of mens lives there, and so refuse to suck the milk of sweet doctrine from so sowre and bitter nipples, besmeared about with bad and scandalous conversation. Yea, never could the Christian religion be shewed to \* Pagans at any time on more disadvantages: Grecians and Latines were at deadly feud; amongst the Latines, Guelfes and Gibelines fought to ruine each other: Humility was every-where preached, and pride practised: They perswaded others to labour for heaven, and fell out about earth themselves: Their lives were contrary to their doctrines, and their doctrines one to another.

\* *P. Amyl.  
in prius.*

But as for these Embassadors, King Lewis received them very courteously, dismissing them with bounteous gifts. And by them he sent to their master a Tent, wherein the history of the Bible was as richly as curiously depicted in needle-work; hoping thus to catch his soul in his eyes, and both in that glorious present: Pictures being then accounted lay-mens books, though since of many condemned as full of *errata's*, and never set forth by authority from the King of heaven to be means or workers of faith.

Whilest Lewis stayed in Cyprus, the Templars in the Holy land began to have his greatnesse in suspicion. This Order (as both the other, of Hospitallers and Teutonicks) though mown down to the bare roots at the last unfortunate battel, yet now in three yeares space sprung up as populous as ever before; their other brethren which lived in their severall Covents and Commandries over all Europe, having now refurnished the houses in Palestine.

Now these Templars were loth King Lewis should come to Ptolemais, though they counterfeited he should be very welcome there. They formerly there had commanded in chief without controll, and were unwilling, having long sat in the saddle, now to dismount and hold the stirrup to another. Besides, they would not have so neat and cleanly a guest see their sluttish houses, fearing Lewis his piety would shame their dissoluteness (being one so godly in his conversation, that by the preaching in his life he had converted many \* Saracens) yea, perchance he being a strict Disciplinarian would punish their vicious manners. Wherefore they wrote to him out of Syria, to accept of a peace with the Sultan of Egypt now offered, and to proceed no further in warre against him.

\* *P. Amyl.  
pag. 216.*

The French King, whose heart was ever open to any fair agree-

agreement, and shut against any dishonourable suspicions, had entertained the motion, had not the King of Cyprus, being more studied in the Templars treacheries, better instructed him: For he told him, this was but a \* trick of their great Master, who under-hand had sent to the Sultan, and procured him to profer this peace only for their own private ends, for to divert the King from coming amongst them. Lewis, though the mildest and most patient of Princes, yet not a drone which wanted the sting of anger, commanded the Master of the Templars upon the price of his head thenceforward to receive no Embassage, nor keep any intelligence with their enemy, and resolved with himself to invade Egypt.

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### Chap. 13.

#### *The wise preparations of the Egyptians; The valour of the French at their landing; Damietta wonne.*

**B**UT he stood so long in aiming, that the bird saw him, and had leisure to flie away, and Meladine the Egyptian King to provide himself to make resistance. Last time (some thirty yeares before) whē the Christians under John Bren invaded Egypt, they were not impeached in their arrivall, but suffered to land without any opposition. But Meladine now was sensible of the discomfort in permitting his foes safely to come on shore: For first, they wasted & spoiled the countrey & the provision about them: Secondly, opportunity was given to male-contentes and ill-disposed persons to flie to the enemy: Lastly, he found it most policie to keep the enemy off at arms end, and to close at the last, and not to adventure his Kingdome on the single die of a battel, but rather to set it on a chance, that so he might have the more play for it. Wherefore he resolved to strengthen his maritime places, and not suffer them to land; though also herein he met with many difficulties. For as nothing was more certain then that Lewis would set on Egypt, so nothing more uncertain; and because it was unknown at what time or place he would come, all times and places were provided for. This exhausted a masse of treasure to keep in pay so many souldiers for many moneths together. But it is no time to dispute about unnecessary thrift, when a whole Kingdome is brought into question to be subdued.

And because the landing-places in Egypt are of great disadvantage

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vantage to the defendants, yeelding them no shelter from the fury of their enemies artillery, being all open places and plain (the shores there being not shod against the sea with huge high rocks, as they are in some other countreys, because the land is low and level) Meladine was forced to fortifie welnigh an hundred and eighty miles along the sea-side; and what Nature had left bare, Art put the more clothes on; and by using of great industry (such as by Tully is fitly termed *horribilis industria*) in short space all that part of Egypt was fenced which respecteth the sea.

Winter being past, Robert Duke of Burgundie and Alphonse King Lewis his brother arrived in Cyprus with a new armie; and hereupon they concluded to set forward for Egypt, and attempted to land neare Damietta. But the governour thereof with a band of valiant souldiers stoutly resisted them. Here was a doubtfull fight: The Egyptians standing on the firm ground, were thereby enabled to improve and \*inforce their darts to the utmost, whilest the French in their ticklish boats durst not make the best of their own strength. Besides, those on land threw their weapons downwards from the forts they had erected, so that the declivity and downfall did naturally second the violent impression of their darts. However, the Infidels at last were here beaten with what commonly was their own weapon, I mean multitude; so that they fled into the town, leaving behind them their governour and five hundred of their best souldiers dead on the shore.

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Damietta was a strong city, the taking whereof was accounted the good task of an armie for a yeare. But now the Egyptians within were presented afresh with the memory of the miseries they indured in the last long siege by the Christians; and fearing lest that tragedy should be acted over again, set fire on their houses, and in the night saved themselves by flight. The French issuing in quenched the fire, and rescued much corn and other rich spoil from the teeth of the flame.

Meladine much troubled with this losse, to purchase peace \* offered the Christians all Jerusalem in as ample a manner as ever formerly they had enjoyed it; all prisoners to be restored, with a great summe of money to defray their charges, and many other good conditions: So that we may much wonder at his profuseness in these profers, and more at the Christians indiscretion in their refusal. For though some advised to make much of so frank a chapman, and not through covetousnesse to outstand their market; yet the Popes Legate and Robert Earl of Artois, heightened with pride that they could not see their profit, and measuring their future victories by the largeness of their first footing in Egypt, would make no bargain except Alexandria the best port in Egypt were also cast in for vantage, to make

\* P. Empl.  
pag. 116.

\* Matth. Par.  
pag. 1047.

Knoll,  
Turk. Hist.



192 make the conditions down-weight : And King Lewis, whose nature was onely bad because it was so good, would in no wise crosse his brother in what he desired. Whereupon the Turks seeing themselves in so desperate condition, their swords being sharpened on extremity, provided to defend their countrey to the utmost.

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Chap. 14.

*Discords betwixt the French and English; The death & disposition of Meladine King of Egypt.*

ABOUT this time brake out the dissensions betwixt the French and English. The cause whereof (as some say) was, for that the Earl of Sarisbury in sacking a fort got more spoil then the French. But surely the foundation of their discontents lay much lower, being an old enmity betwixt the two nations; and Robert Earl of Artois used Earl William and his men with much discourtesie.

This Robert stood much on the Royaltie of his descent, being brother to King Lewis, though nothing of kin in conditions; being as bountifull to deal injuries and affronts as the other alms and charitable deeds. The English Earl, though he stood on the lower ground in point of birth, yet conceived himself to even him in valour and martiall knowledge. And though godly King Lewis used all his holy-water to quench these heart-burnings, his successe answered not his pains, much lesse his desires; onely his cooling perswasions laid their enmities for the present fairly asleep.

Amidst these broils died Meladine the Egyptian King. A worthy Prince he was; though some write very cursely of him: as he must rise early, yea, not at all go to bed, who will have every ones good word. Let Christians speak of him as they found: whose courtesies to them when they were half-drowned in Egypt, if they will not confesse, they deserve to be wholly drowned for their ingratitude. In the latter end of his age he quite lost the good will of his subjects, and lived unloved, and died unlamented, though a deserving and fortunate man, which oftentimes covereth a multitude of faults. The chief reason whereof was, because they suspected him to be unfound in his religion, and offering to Christianity: Besides, having reigned above thirty yeares, his government became stale; and good things, if of long continuance, grow tedious, they being rather affected for their variety then true worth: Lastly, the rising sunne

sunne stole the adorers from the sunne setting; and Melechfala his sonne being an active and promising Prince, reigned before in mens desires over the Kingdome. To him now they all applied themselves; and having more wildome in their generation then the Christians, instantly ceased their private dissensions. And now the Sultans of Damascus, Aleppo, and Babylon twisted themselves in a joynt agreement with Melechfala to defend their Mahometane religion.

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Chap. 15.

*Robert Earl of Artois fighting with the Egyptians contrary to the counsell of the Master of the Templars, is overthrown and drowned.*

1250 FROM Damiata the French marched up towards Cairo; the governour whereof offended with Melechfala, promised to deliver that regall citie to the French. With some danger and more difficulty they passed an arm of Nilus, being conducted by a fugitive Saracen to a place where it was foordable. Hence Earl Robert marched forward with a third part of the army, and suddenly assaulting the Turks in their tents (whilest Melechfala was absent in solemnizing a feast) put them to flight. Hereupon this Earl proclaimed himself in his hopes Monarch of the world: This blow made his enemies reel, the next would fell them: Now speed was more needfull then strength: This late victory, though gotten, was lost if not used: What though they were not many? the fewer the adventurers, the greater the gain: Let them therefore forwards, and set on the whole power of the Turks, which was incamped not farre off.

But the Master of the Templars, in whom the sap of youth was well dried up, advised the Earl to stay and digest the honour he had gotten, expecting the arrivall of the rest of their armie: for the work was weighty they undertook, and needed two shoulders, the united strength of the Christians, effectually to manage it: His souldiers were weary, and must be refreshed; and it was madnesse to starve them to day in hope of a feast to morrow: That they were to march through a strange countrey, and their best instructours were behind: let them stay for their lantern, and not go in the dark. He minded him that he overvalued his victory, not considering the enemies strength, whose harvest was not spoiled by losing an handfull of men.

But the Earl, full of the emptinesse of self-conceit, allowed

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Matth. P.  
vii. pag. 1049.



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\* Match Pa-  
ris pag. 1050.

\* Erimus  
(credo) ho-  
die, ubi non  
audebis cau-  
dam equi mei  
attingere,  
Idem ibid.

no counsell for currant but that of his own stamp. He scorned to wait the leisure of another opportunity, and opprobriously objected to the \* Templars the common fame, That the Holy land long since had been wonne, but for the collusion of the false Templars and Hospitallers with the Infidels.

Here the Earl of Sarisbury interposed himself to make peace, and to perswade Robert to listen to the wholesome counsell that was given him. But his good will was rewarded with Coward, Dastard, English-tail, and such like contumelious terms. Wherefore said our Earl, Well, Generall, on in Gods name; \* I beleeve this day you shall not dare to come nigh my horses tail. And now the touchstone must tell what is gold, what is brasse.

Marching on, they assaulted the castle of Mauzar, and were notably repulsed; and Melechfala coming in with his whole strength, hemmed them in on every side. The Christians were but the third part of the armie; and at the present, they themselves were scarce the half of themselves, being faint for want of refreshing. Yet never shall one read more valour in so little a volume: They played their parts most stoutly. As for the French Earl who went on like thunder, he went out like smoke, crying to the Earl of Sarisbury, Flee, flee, for God fighteth against us. To whom our Earl, God forbid my fathers sonne should flee from the face of a Saracen. The other seeking to save himself by the swiftnesse of his horse, and crossing the river, had there water enough to drown him, but too little to wash from him the stain of rashnesse and cowardise. Thus died the Earl of Artois: who had in him the parts of a good Generall, but inverted and in transposition, bold in counsell, fearfull in execution. He was one of that princely quaternion of brothers which came hither at this voyage, and exceeded each other in some quality; Lewis the Holiest, Alphonse the Subtillest, Charles the Stoutest, and this Robert the Proudest.

As for the Earl of Sarisbury, he resolved to sell his life at such a rate that the buyer should little boast of his peny-worth, slaying many a Turk; and though unhorfed and wounded in his legs, stood on his honour when he could not stand on his feet; and refusing all quarter, upon his knees laid about him like a desperate man. The longer he fought, the fewer wounds he had; and there at last he breathed forth his soul in the midst of his enemies. Of all the Christians there escaped no more then two Templars, one Hospitaller, and one common souldier, the messengers of this heavy news.

The French writers, because they can say little good, say little of this battel, and lessen the overthrow as much as may be; which Authours of other nations have more fully reported.

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Thus sometimes unfortunate gamesters flatter themselves, belie their own purses, and dissemble their losses, whereof the standers by take more accurate notice. P. Æmylius (an Italian, born at Verona; but by long writing the French history his penne is made free denison of France) though with his hand he doth hide the orifice of the wound, yet it is too narrow to cover the whole fore round about: So that it plainly appeareth, that a great and grievous and most mortall blow was here given to the Christians.

## Chap. 16.

*King Lewis almost in the same place bath the same wofull successe, conquered and taken captive by Melechfala.*

**I**T is easier to be conceived then expressed, what generall grief this dolefull news brought to the French; who followed not farre off, and who before had cause enough to sorrow for themselves: For the plague began to rage furiously amongst them, and daily swept away thousands. Mean time good King Lewis sent many of the weakest and impotentest people down the river to Damiat, there to enjoy the benefit of privacie, good attendance, and physick. Melechfala having intelligence hereof, met them by the way; and setting upon them (having neither arm to fight, nor legs to runne away) either burned or drowned them all, save one English man, Alexander Giffard (whose ancient and famous family flourisheth to this day at Chellington in Staffordshire) who wounded in five places of his bodie, escaped to the French, and reported what had happened to the rest.

And by this time Melechfala understood of the correspondence betwixt King Lewis and the governour of Cairo, for the betraying of the city: Whereupon he caused him suddenly to be apprehended; whereby the French King lost all hopes to obtain that place of importance. Yea, now full willingly would the Christians have accepted the terms formerly offered them; and now their hungry stomachs would make dainties of those conditions which before, when full of pride, they threw away as fragments. But the Turks now sleighted them as not worth the treating with; and as knowing that these Frenchmen, who at their first landing were more then men, would at last be lesse then women.

Then began the French Lords to perswade King Lewis to provide

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provide for the safety of his own person, and to return to Damia-  
ta. They told him, That if he stayed with them, there was no  
hope grounded on probability (and what was any other but a  
wilfull self-delusion?) of his escaping: If he were killed, his death  
would be a living shame to their religion; if taken prisoner, how  
would Mahomet insult over Christ! The captivity of the most  
Christian of the most Christian Kings would be foundation  
enough for the Turks thereon to build tropheys of eternall tri-  
umph. But Lewis would not leave them, that they might not  
leave him, but resolved to be a commoner with them in weal  
and wo; disdaining to be such a niggard of his life as not to  
spend it in a good cause in so good company.

Forward they march, and come to the fatall place where the  
last battel was fought. There behold the mangled, headlesse,  
handlelesse, feetlesse corpses of their fellow-countreymen. They  
knew in generall they were all their friends; none knew his par-  
ticular friend. The cause of this unwonted cruelty to the dead,  
was a proclamation which Melechfala made, assigning a great  
summe of money to every one who would bring the head,  
hand, or foot of a Christian: And this made many of his covet-  
ous cowards (who carried their valour in their purses) to be  
courageous. Whilest the French were here bemoaning their fel-  
lows, Melechfala came upon them with an infinite multitude,  
and put them all (being few and feeble) to the sword; taking  
King Lewis, with his two brethren, Alphonse and Charles, pri-  
soners.

Instantly the Turks went up with French ensignes to Damia-  
ta, hoping so suddenly to surprize it. Which project had it took  
effect, then farewell King Lewis for ever. He must be sent a  
present to the Caliph of Babylon, from whom never any re-  
turned alive; Melechfala being but Purgatory, whence there  
was redemption; but the Babylonian Caliph Hell it self, from  
whence no hope of release. But God defeated their designe;  
for the Turks could not French it so handsomely, but that they  
were discovered. The very language of their hands made them  
suspected afarre off, because they could not counterfeit the  
French idiotismes in managing their bucklers, that nation being  
most punctuall and criticall in their military postures: But being  
come neare, it was plain for any to read Turk in their beards  
and complexions, so that they departed without having what  
they desired.

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Chap. 17.

*The wofull impression which the ill successe of the  
French wrought on the Christians in Europe.*

SOME made more hast then good speed (bad news being the  
sworst ware a ship can be fraught with) to sail into France  
with the sad tidings of this overthrow. These intelligencers  
Blanch, the Queen-mother and Regent of France, rewarded  
with the gallows: and my Authour doubteth not to pronounce  
them all \* Martyrs. But let them be contented with the coronet  
of their own innocence, though without the crown of Martyr-  
dome; that honour belonging to such alone as suffer death for  
fundamentall points of religion. But so great an eclipse could  
not long be kept from the eyes of the world; & this dolefull and  
dismall news was founded and seconded from every side. Then  
was there a generall lamentation over all Christendome, chiefly  
in France, where all were so sorrowfull, that any mirth was  
counted profanenesse. Many bounded not themselves within the  
banks of grief, but brake out into blasphemy, both in France and  
elsewhere, taxing Justice it self of being unjust; and not con-  
tent to admire what they could not conceive, condemned Gods  
proceedings herein to be against right, because above their rea-  
son. Fools, because they could not conquer on earth, did quar-  
rel with heaven. This bad breath, though it came but from the  
teeth of some, yet proceeded from the corrupted lungs of o-  
thers: some spake but out of present passion, but others even out  
of inbred Atheisme. Many who before were but lukewarm in  
religion, now turned stark-cold. In Venice and some other cities  
of Italy, the inhabitants whereof \* Matthew Paris calleth *semi-  
christians*, but half-Christians (though this his harsh appellati-  
on wanteth three parts of charity) began wholly to tend to  
apostacie. And now for a crutch to stay their reeling faith, it  
was high time for the Clergie to ply the pulpits. They perswa-  
ded those Rachels who in this voyage had lost any children and  
would not be comforted, that their children were in a most  
blessed condition: They emptied all their boxes of their co-  
lours of rhetorick, therewith to paint out the happinesse of their  
estate which they enjoyed in heaven: They pieced out their  
Sermons with reporting of Miracles; How William Earl of Sa-  
risbury appeared to his \* mother, and assured her that he reigned  
most glorious in heaven. She presently forgot her grief for lo-  
sing her sonne, for joy that she had found a Saint, yea, a Martyr.  
This was their constant custome; When any in Europe wept for  
the losse of their friends in this warre, their tears were instantly  
dried

\* Quos Mar-  
tyres credi-  
mus esse ma-  
nifestos,  
Math. Paris.  
pag. 1059.

\* Ut prius.

\* Math. Pa-  
ris pag. 1051.

dried up with some hot miracle that was reported them: Where- with the silly people were well pleased; as babes of clouts are good enough to keep children from crying.

About this time many thousands of the English were resolved for the Holy warre, and would needs have been gone, had not the King strictly guarded his ports, and kept his Kingdome from running away out of doores. The King promised he would go with them, and hereupon got a masse of money from them for this journey. Some say, that he never intended it; and that this onely was a trick to stroke the skittish cow to get down her milk. His stubborn subjects said, that they would tarry for his company till midsummer, and no longer. Thus they weighed out their obedience with their own scales, and the King stood to their allowance. But hearing of this sorrowfull accident, both Prince and people altered their resolution; who had come too late to help the French in their distresse, and too soon to bring themselves into the same misery.

### Chap. 18.

*King Lewis exchanged for Damiata, stayeth some yeares at Ptolemais.*

**B**UT return to Egypt, where King Lewis was kept prisoner by Melechfala, who often felt his disposition about the resigning of Damiata, but found that to heare of death was more welcome musick unto him.

But see here a sudden alteration: One Tarqueminus a sturdy Mamaluke, with another of that society, killed Melechfala in the very height of his victorious happinesse, and succeeded him in the Egyptian Kingdome. This Tarqueminus came in with an intent to send Lewis the same way: Which poore Prince was onely armed with innocence and majesty, and yet his bare person defended his person from that cruel attempt: such an awfull impression did his very presence, saith my Authour, strike into him who would have stricken him. But we may rather think that the city of Damiata was King Lewis his corslet, and that all the towres and walls of that place fenced him; Tarqueminus reserving his person as an equivalent ranfome, thereby to redeem that royall citie.

Now Lewis had changed his Lord, but not his lamentable condition, continuing still a prisoner. At last he was restored to his liberty, on condition, that the Christians should surrender Damiata, and he also pay back to the Turks many thousand

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pounds, both for ranfome of Christian captives, and in satisfaction of the vastations they had committed in Egypt. Lewis for security of this money, pawned to the Turk the Pyx and Host (that is, the body of Christ transubstantiated in the Eucharist) as his chiefest jewel which he should be most carefull to redeem. Hence, in perpetuall memory of this conquest, we may see a \* Wafer-cake and a Box alwayes wrought in the borders of that tapestry which is brought out of Egypt.

Note by the way, that the Turks were most unreasonable in their rates of ransoming fouldiers, and in all other their pecuniary demands. For their own countrey being neare to the fountain of gold and silver, they made as if it flowed as plentifully in other places, measuring the wealth of other lands by their own, and asking as much for a private mans ranfome as would drain a Princes purse in these Western parts.

Thus was Damiata restored again to the Turks, and the Christians punctually performed their promises; though the false Miscreant on the other side set not half the captives free, killed all the sick persons whom by promise he should relieve, and (contrary to the agreement) suffered not any Christian to transport any of his goods out of Egypt.

Hence Lewis sailed to Ptolemais: where he lived in a miserable case, being forsaken of his brothers, subjects, friends, and the Pope himself. His brothers, Alphonse and Charles, though sent into France to sollicite his suit, and to advance his ranfome with speed, yet being arrived forgot the affliction of Joseph; and the King was as farre from their mind as their sight: Wherefore God justly visited Alphonse with an incurable disease. His subjects, though furious at first in bemoaning him, yet the fit past, complained not so much for him as on him; charging him for ill managing the matters in Egypt by his cowardinesse and indiscretion. His friends, the Pisans and Genoans, reviled him as the marrer of their mart, Damiata being formerly their most gainfull port; but now their hony was spoiled by destroying the hive: For the Sultan seeing the city taken twice of the Christians in short time, to prevent further dispute about it, took away the subject of the question, and rased it to the ground. The Pope forsook him: And though many intreated his Holinesse not to prosecute the Emperour Frederick any further, from whom Lewis expected all the beams of his comfort, yet he would heare of no submission from him, but sought finally to ruine him. Onely Blanch, King Lewis his mother, was carefull for her sonne, and laboured his cause day and night. But alas! her arms were too short to bring all ends together. And having gathered a considerable summe of money, and shipped it for Palestine, a tempest in a moment \* cast that away which

\* Du Serret,  
in the life of  
Lewis the 9.

\* Matth. Pa-  
ris pag. 1091.

her

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\* *Math. Pa-  
ris* pag. 1091.

\* *St Tristram  
a Knight  
long before.  
See *Arms*, in  
*Cornwall*, fol.  
61.*

her care and thrift was many moneths in getting. All this he bore with a soul not benumbed with Stoicall senselesse-ness, but becalmed with Christian patience: \* a second Job; so that what pleased God, pleased him. It somewhat mitigated his misery, that he had the company of his consort Margaret, a woman worthy so good a husband. Here she bore him a child, which because another Benoni, or Sonne of sorrow, was called Tristram. But that \* name is more ancient, nor had it its birth from the christening of this child.

Four yeares King Lewis lived (not to say, loitered) in Syria, daily expecting in vain that some Prince of Europe should fetch him off with honour, being loth to return till he could carry home his credit with him. And though he was out of his Kingdome, yet was he in his kingdome, whilst surveying there the sacred monuments wherewith he was so highly affected.

### Chap. 19.

*The Common-wealth of the Mammalukes described, presenting us with many unexampled remarkable.*

NOW more largely of Tarqueminus, and his killing Melechfala, and of the common-wealth of the Mammalukes begun by him. And because great is the merit of this story, as very memorable, we will fetch it from its first originall.

\* *Book 2.  
chap. 40.*

Saladine (as is touched \* before) was the first of the Turkish Kings who began the gainfull trade of the Mammalukes. These were Christian captives, brought out of Taurica Cherfonesus, and instructed as in Mahometanisme so in all military discipline; Saladine disposing of them one under another. It is above belief how much and speedily they were improved in warlike exercises: Art doubled their strength by teaching them to use it. And though they came rough out of their own countrey, they were quickly hewen and polished by education: yea, their apprehensions prevented the precepts, and their practice surpassed the preidents of those that instructed them. As it is observed in fruits and flowers, that they are much bettered by change to a fitter soil; so were these people by altering their climate: The cold countrey wherein they were bred, gave them big and robustious bodies; and the hot climate whereinto they were transplanted, ripened their wits, and bestowed upon them craft

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craft and activity, the dowie of the Southern countreys. They attained to be expert in any service; especially they were excellent horsemen: and at last they began to ride on the backs and necks of the Turkish Kings themselves.

True it is, Saladine kept his distance over them, used them kindly, yet made them not wantons; and so poised these Mammalukes with his native Egyptians, that in all actions he still reserved the casting voice for himself. But Meladine and Melechfala his successors, entertained them without number, and instructed them beyond reason, so that under them in a manner they monopolized all places of strength and command; till at last, the stemme of these mercenary souldiers being too great for the stock of the natives, the Turkish Kingdome in Egypt, like a top-heavy tree, became a windfall. Indeed, the dastardnesse of the Egyptians made these Mammalukes more daring and insolent. For the Egyptians more loved profit then honour, & wealth then greatnesse; and though contented to abide labour, would in no wise undergo danger. Merchandise they were wholly employed in; and it seemed they used trading so long, till at last they made sale of their own spirits. Yea, one could not now know Egypt to be Egypt, but onely by the overflowing of Nilus, not by any remaining ancient marks of valour in the peoples disposition. Thus the *genius* of old Kingdomes in time groweth weaker, and doteth at the last.

But to come to Tarqueminus, He being one of these Mammalukes, and perceiving how easie it was for those that did support, to supplant the Turkish Kings, with another of his associates slew Melechfala, as it was said. And because it was unfitting so great a Prince should go to the grave alone, he also sent his children and intimate friends thither to attend him. Tarqueminus afterwards procured of his society to be chosen King of Egypt. He was the Solon or Lycurgus of this slavish common-wealth; and by the consent of the rest of his company he enacted many laws: Whereof these were those of the Grand Charter, which admitted of no revocation:

First, That the \* Sultan, or chief of this servile Empire, should be chosen alwayes out of the Mammalukes.

\* *Knolls,  
Turk. Hist.  
pag. 107.*

Secondly, That none should be admitted to the Order of the Mammalukes which were either Jews or Turks by birth, but onely such as being born Christians, were afterwards taken captives, and then from the time of their slavery had been instructed in the Mahometane religion.

Thirdly, That though the sonnes of the Mammalukes might enjoy their fathers lands and wealth, yet they might not take upon them the name or honour of a Mammaluke.

Fourthly, That the native Egyptians should be permitted no

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use

use of weapons, but onely such as with which they fought against weeds, to till and manure the land.

In surveying this State, we can turn no way but must meet with wonders:

First, one would think that there was such an indelible character of slavery in these captives, and such a *lesum principium* in them, that none of them ever should make a good Prince, as knowing no more how to sway a sceptre then a pure clown to manage a sword; or else that they should over-state it, turn tyrants, and onely exchange their slavery, by becoming vassals to their own passions. Yet many of them in their kinds were worthy Princes for government, no whit inferiour to those which are advantaged with royall birth and breeding.

Secondly, it is a wonder they should be so neglective of their own children. How many make an idol of their posterity, and sacrifice themselves unto it, stripping themselves out of necessities to provide their heirs a wardrobe! yea, it is a principle in most moderate minds, to advance their posterity; thinking hereby in a manner they overcome death, and immortalize their memories, in leaving their names and honours to their children: Whereas the contrary appeared in these Mammelukes.

Thirdly, it is admirable that they fell not out in the election of their Prince, being in a manner all equall amongst themselves. We see elective States in Christendome, though bound with the straitest laws, often sagge aside into schismes and factions; whereas this strange Empire in their choice had no dangerous discords, but such as were quenched in the kindling.

Lastly, who ever knew a wall that had no better cement, to stand so sure and so long? Two hundred fixty and seven yeares this State endured; and yet had it to do with strong and puissant enemies. Some Kingdomes ow their greatnesse not so much to their own valour and wisdom as to the weaknesse of their neighbours: but it fared not thus with the Mammelukes. To omit Prester John, who neighboured them on the south; on all other sides they were encompassed with potent opposers: From whom right valiantly they defended themselves, till in the yeare 1517 they were overcome by Selimus the great Turkish Emperour.

To conclude; As for the Amazons and their brave achievements, with much valour and no manhood; they and their State had onely being in the brains of fabulous writers: As for the Assassines, or regiment of rogues; it never spread to the breadth of any great countrey, nor grew to the height of a Kingdom; but being the jakes of the world, was cast out in a place betwixt barren hills: But this Empire of vassals was every way wonderfull, stretching so farre over all Egypt and most of Syria, and

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and lasting so long. A strange State! wherein slavery was the first step to their throne, and apostasie the first article in their religion.

Chap. 20.

*The manner of the death of Frederick King of Jerusalem; His Will, and posterity after him. An interregnum both in Germanie and the Kingdome of Jerusalem.*

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IN this same yeare Frederick King of Jerusalem and Emperour of Germany ended his troublesome dayes. A Prince, who in the race of his life met with many rubs, some stumbles, no dangerous falls. Besides the Turk, he had to do with the Pope. (the Pope immortal in his succession.) And though his Holinesse was unfit for warre (as being alwayes old, and never ripe for that place till almost rotten) yet he used his own head, and commanded the hands of others; whereby he kept Frederick in a continuall warre. Yet never could he have beaten him with fair play, had he not used a weapon, if not against the law of Arms, against the law of God, and against which no guard, Arming his subjects against him, and Dispensing with the oath of allegiance.

But he gave Frederick the mortall wound, in setting himself against himself; I mean, Henry his eldest sonne. And though Frederick easily conquered that rebellious youth, and made him fast enough, keeping him in prison in Apulia, where he died; yet he carried the grief hereof to his grave. For now he knew not where or in whom to place any confidence; as suspecting the single cord of Loyaltie would not hold in others, which brake in his own sonne though twisted with Naturall affection.

The greatnesse of his spirit was a great hastening of his death; and being of a keen, eager, and active nature, the sharpnesse of the sword cut the scabbard the sooner asunder. Bowe he could not, break he must. What-ever is reported, he died of no other poison then sorrow (which ushered him into a wasting ague) grief being a burden whereof the strongest shoulders can bear the least. As for the same, that Maufred his base sonne should stifle him with a pillow: though I must confesse he might be taken on suspicion, as likely enough to play such a devilish prank; yet it is unreasonable, that he who is ac-

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quitted

\* B. regius,  
anno 1250.  
§.14.

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\* Falso ex  
ejus temporis  
hominum tes-  
timonio esse  
convincitur,  
Pantol. in  
Fred. 1.<sup>o</sup>.

\* Others say,  
a falconer,  
or, a physici-  
an. See Man-  
ster, De Ita-  
lia, lib. 2. pag.  
235.

Gathered out  
of Lampad.  
Mellif. bibl.  
part. 3. pag.  
306.

quitted by the \* Authours of the same time, should be con-  
demned on the evidence of the writers of after-ages.

He died at Florence in an obscure castle on S. Lucies  
day, having reigned King of Jerusalem three and twenty  
yeares. By his Will he bequeathed many ounces of gold to  
the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, in recompense of the  
wrongs they had received by him. He left a great summe of  
money for the recovery of the Holy land, to be disposed at  
the discretion of the foresaid Knights. He forbade any state-  
ly funerall for himself, though in his life immoderately ex-  
cessive in pomp; as if he would do penance for his pride after  
death. A Prince, who had he not been hindered with domesti-  
call discords, would have equalized Cesar himself: For if  
thus bravely he laid about him, his hands being tied at home  
with continuall dissensions, what would he have done if at li-  
berty? A scandal is raised since his death, That he was but \* a  
millers sonne; but he would have ground them to powder who  
in his life-time durst have averred it. Indeed he was very happy  
in mechanick matters, such as we may term Liberaall handy-  
crafts; as casting, founding, carving in iron and brasle: Nei-  
ther did this argue a low soul, to dabble in such mean employ-  
ments, but rather proved the amplitude and largeness there-  
of; of so generall acquaintance, that no Art was a stranger to  
him. But the suspicion of his birth rose from the almost mira-  
culous manner of it; Constantia his mother bearing him when  
welaigh sixty yeares of age. But both in Scripture and other  
writers, we may see the sonnes of long-barren mothers to have  
been fruitfull in famous atchievements.

Pity it was that he had some faults: yea, pity it had been  
if he had not had some. But his vices indeed were notorious and  
unexcusable. Many wives and concubines he had, and by them  
many children.

#### His wives.

1. Constantia, Queen of  
Aragon.
2. Iole, daughter to John  
Bren.
3. Agnes, daughter to the  
Marquess of Moravia,  
childlesse divorced.
4. Rutima.

5. Isabella of Bavaria,

6. Maud, daughter to John  
King of England.

His concubine

Blanch.

#### His legitimate children;

Henry, who rebelled  
against him.  
Conrade.

Agnes.

Constance.

His base sonnes,

1. Henzium.
2. Maufred.
3. Frederick.

#### Their preferment.

King of the Romanes.

Duke of Suevia.

Married to Conrade  
Landgrave of Hessen.

Wife to Lewis Land-  
grave of Hessen.

King of Sardinia;  
Usurper of Sicily.  
Prince of Antioch.

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As others,  
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It is much, that succession adventured in so many severall  
bottoms, should miscarry: Yet these foure sonnes dying, left  
no lasting issue; and in the third generation Fredericks stock and  
that whole race of Suevian Princes was extinct: Which in the  
judgement of some men was a judgement of God on him for  
his lasciviousnesse.

We must not forget a memorable passage which happened  
more then twenty yeares after Fredericks death: \* One Tylo  
Colupp, a notable juggler, sometime brought up at the Court,  
cunningly sowing together all the old shreds of his Courtship,  
and stretching them out with impudency, pretended to be Fre-  
derick the Emperour, long detained in captivity in Palestine.  
The difference betwixt their aspects was easily reconciled; for  
few Physiognomy-marks are so deeply fixed in any face, but that  
age and misery will alter them. The credulity of the vulgar  
fort presently betrayed them to be couzened by him: yea, some  
Princes took this brasle for gold without touching it. But the  
best engine which gave this puppet his motion, was a bruit  
constantly buzzed, That Frederick was not dead. For Princes,  
the manner of whose deaths hath been private and obscure,  
fame commonly conjureth again out of their graves, and  
they walk abroad in the tongues and brains of many, who af-  
firm and beleve them to be still alive. But the world soon  
surfeted of this cheaters forgerie; and this glow-worm when  
brought into the light, shined no more, but at Nansle was burnt  
to ashes by Rodolphus the Emperour.

After Fredericks death there was an *interregnum* for three  
and twenty yeares in the Empire of Germany. True it is, that  
of some, William Earl of Holland (one without a beard, not va-  
lour) was nominated Emperour. The Spirituall electours chose  
Richard, brother to our King Henry the third. And as in Corn-  
wall he got much coin, so Germany gave him a bottomlesse bag  
to put it in. A third party named Alphonse King of Castile,  
an admirable Mathematician: But the ointment of his name is  
marred with the dead lie of his Atheistickall speech, That if he  
had been in Gods stead, he could have framed the world bet-  
ter then now it is. Notwithstanding, the best Dutch writers  
make an *interregnum*, as counting the Empire still a widow,  
and all these rather her sinners then any her husband.

In like manner also in Palestine there was not any King for  
fourteen yeares after Fredericks death. The right indeed lay  
in Conrade Duke of Suevia, Fredericks sonne by Iole daughter  
to John Bren King of Jerusalem: But he was so employ-  
ed in defending himself in Sicily against Manfred his base  
brother (who soon after dispatched him out of the way) that he  
had no leisure to prosecute his title to the fragments of the King-  
dome of Jerusalem.

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\* Caloisus,  
anno 1185.  
ex Spang.  
Et Pantol. in  
Rodolpho  
Cesare.

Chap. 21.

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*The Pastorells killed in France; King Lewis returned home.*

GO we back to King Lewis, who all this while stayed in Palestine, busying himself partly in building and fencing of Sidon and Cesarea, partly in composing discords betwixt the Pisans and Genoans, even proceeding to threaten them into agreement: But these armed men little cared for his naked menacing. He being also an excellent religious Antiquary and Critick on holy monuments, much employed himself in redeeming of old sacred places from the tyranny of time and oblivion.

Mean time, in his Kingdome of France happened this strange accident: \* An Hungarian peasant, who is said to have been an apostate to Mahomet and well learned, gathered together many thousands of people, pretending they had intelligence from heaven to march to the Holy land. These took on them the name and habit of *Pastorelli*, poore shepherds; in imitation be-like (as the Devil is Gods ape) of those in the Gospel, who were warned by Angels in a vision to go to Bethlehem.

Being to shape their course into Palestine, they went into France; shewing they had a *vertigo* in their heads, mistaking the West for the East; or else, that like vagabonds they were never out of their way.

The Holy Lambe was their ensigne, but their actions, neither holy nor lambe-like. They pillaged and killed the poore Jews as they went (an unhappy nation, whose heads lie pat for every ones hands to hit, and their legges so stand in mens way that few can go by them without spurning at them:) Where they wanted Jews, they made Jews of Christians, especially if they were rich, using them with all cruelty. But at last neare Burdeaux threescore thousand of them were slain, and the rest dispersed. A rhymor of that age (or in courtesie call him a Poet) made this Epitaph on them;

\* *M semel, & bis C, L I conjungere disce;  
Duxit Pastorum secula Megara chorum.*

Learn to put together well,  
What M, C, C, L, I, do spell;  
When some devilish fiend in France  
Did teach the Shepherds how to dance.

By this time Lewis in Syria had stayed out the death and buriall

\* *Matib. Paris. pag. 1094.*

\* *Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 16. col. 698.*

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riall of all his hopes to receive succour from his own country. Long expecting in vain that France should come to him, he at last returned to it. The greatesse of the burden he bore, made him go the faster; and being loaden with debts to his Italian creditours, he secretly hastened home: Where safely arriving, besides loyalty to their Prince, love to a stranger was enough to make him welcome.

Chap. 22.

*The conversion of the Tartarians. Haalon conquereth Persia, and extinguisheth the Caliphs of Babylon.*

LEWIS is gone, and left the Christians in Syria in a wofull condition, without hope of amendment. Now, can any good come out of Tartary? Can the Northern wind blow a comfortable warmth? Yea; see a strange vicissitude of things! Haito the Christian King of Armenia had travelled to Mango the Cham of Tartary, to communicate to him the present danger of the Turks, and to consult of a remedy. He shewed, how if order were not taken with them in time, they would overrun all Asia: Lethim not count that he lay out of their rode, because of his remote situation: For what is the way wanderers will not trace? He might expect onely this courtesie, to be last devoured. In conclusion, Haito prevailed so farre with this Pagan, that he not onely promised his assistance, but also was baptized, and took the Christian religion on him: So also did his whole country by his example; and Christianity being the Court-fashion, none would be out of it. Never since the time of Constantine the Great, did the devil at once lose a greater morsel, or was there made a more hopefull accession to the Faith.

Understand we this conversion of Tartary (though Authours predicate it universally of that whole country) onely of Cathaia, the Eastern and most refined part of that Empire: For Cannibals were still in the North, who needed first to be converted to reason and to be made men, before they could become Christians. Also at this same time we find a swarm of Western Tartarian heathens forraging \* Poland. So it seemeth, so vast was the Empire, that it was still night in the West, though it was day in the Eastern part thereof.

Now, whether the conversion of these Tartarians was solemnly,

\* *Marinus Samuil. Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 16. col. 699.*

\* *Calvisius Hist. Pol. in anno 1259.*

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\* *Oratio de  
miseris  
Iudeis, A-  
thanasi.*

\* *Magdeburg.  
Cent. 13. cap.  
2. pag. 5.*

\* *So Knolls,  
Turk. Hist.  
pag. 112. The  
Magdebur-  
gensis say  
leffe, Seme-  
stri spatio,  
Cent. 13. cap.  
16. col. 699.*

\* *Magdeburg.  
& Knolls,  
ut prius.*

\* *Calvisius, in  
anno 1158.  
ex Bizara.*

lemly, deliberately, and methodically wrought by preaching, first those things wherein the light of Nature concurrerth with Faith; then, those wherein humane reason is no foe but standeth neuter; lastly, such as are merely of Faith, leaving the issue of all to God, whose \* oratory alone can perswade souls: or whether (which is more probable) it was but tumultuously done, many on a sudden rather snatching then embracing religion, we will not dispute. Sure it is that Mango sent Haalon his brother (who is said to have married a wife an excellent Christian, and \* descended from the Wise-men who came to see our Saviour) with a great armie to suppress the Turks and assist the Christians. It seemeth his armie rid post; for falling into Persia, he conquered it sooner then one can well travel it, \* in half a yeare. It facilitated his victory, because that countrey had much unfurnished her self to furnish her forreine colonies and garisons in Syria: And generally active nations are strongest abroad, and weakest at home; where they are onely strong with a conceit of their strength beleev'd in other countreys. The citie Samarchanda onely resisted him. Haalon seeing it would not come at the first, let it stay, counting it beneath a conquerour to tempt his fortune with a long siege, which per-  
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chance might alter the whole course of the cards, and make him rise a loser. Wherefore he himself onely skimmed the cream of the conquest, and went away with what was easie and smooth, deputing an inferiour captain to hew this knotty service; who after a long siege subdued it. For in respect of the age of this siege, that of Troy was but a child, it lasting \* seven and twenty yeares; and at last not taken but yielded up, the defendants then wanting clothes to cover their nakednesse.

From Persia Haalon marched to Babylon: The Caliph whereof called Musteazem, was so superstitious an idolater to his wealth, that he would not provide necessaries for the defense of the city; and therefore it was quickly subdued. The covetous Caliph he \* famished to death, and then filled his mouth with melted gold. Every where Mosques went down and Churches up.

Hence into Mesopotamia: which he instantly conquered, with the cities of Aleppo and Edessa. He wonne and restored many places to Conrade the Christian Prince of Antioch, which the Turks formerly detained from him. Yea, this Tartarian armie so awed Melechem the Mammaluke Prince of Egypt, who succeeded Tarqueminus, that he durst not budge. And many other good offices this Haalon did to the Christians in Syria.

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Chap. 23.

The discord betwixt the Genoans and Venetians, who burn the Genoans ships in Ptolemais.

BUT they were unworthy of this happinesse, who would not be at leisure to make use of it, but busied themselves in private dissensions, the Genoans against the Pisans and Venetians. These States (as many other in Italy) at this time were so proud in their Masters old clothes, they scarce knew themselves, grown brave with the feathers the Eagle had moulted, and set up by the breaking of the Emperour in Italy. The Venetians and Genoans were hardly matched: The Pisans were not so strong, but as stomachfull as either of them, and then in this point of policie superiour to both; That first siding with the Genoans, they whipped the Venetians; then when they were sufficiently humbled, taking part with the Venetians, they stripped and lashed the Genoans: and the scales being even before, Pisa made that weigh down by course wherein the cast her grains.

Now not content to fall out at home within the doores of Italy, they must fight in Syria in the open street, where the Turks looked on and laughed at them; counting it in their apprehension as good sport as to see a spider poison a toad. Besides their old grudges transported hither out of Italy, this green wound was the cause of their dissension here: In Ptolemais these three States had their severall streets, severall markets for trading, and courts for causes both civill and criminall: but all three had one Church (that of S. Sabbas) common unto them, by the ordering of the Pope himself; who counted the same Church might serve the worshippers of the same God: But the \* Venetians by the vertue of an ancient agreement betwixt them and King Baldwine for their service in winning this city, challenged a peculiar interest therein. Hereabout was there old bustling; and in a tumult, the Genoans at that time surpassing for number, drave the Venetians out of the Church: Yea, Philip of Montfort, a French Governour of Ptolemais in the time of the *interregnum*, wanting not onely policie for a Magistrate, but wit for a man (Blondus \* saith he was half-mad, and his actions speak him no lesse) compelled the Venetians generally to forsake the city.

Implacably incensed hereat, the Venetians arm thirteen galleys which they had at Tyre, & coming to Ptolemais forced asunder the chain which crossed the haven, and burned five and twenty ships of the Genoans which lay there. For alas! being strait-  
Ec  
ned

\* So saith  
Blondus, *De-  
cad. 2. lib. 8.  
pag. 306. But  
if we consult  
with Tyrius,  
lib. 10. cap. 18.  
the Genoans  
and not the  
Venetians  
wonne Ptole-  
mais.  
\* Loco prius  
citato.*



ned in the haven, they had no room (being entangled) to turn and free themselves one from another. And though united force be most forcible, yet not when so stifled and smothered that it cannot expresse and exercise it self. Many brave souldiers in these ships lost their lives in a bundle, without selling them, or ever opening their wares.

To avenge this losse, the State of Genoa sent from home a navie of fifty ships of all sorts, which came to Tyre. There meet they with Reinerius Zenus Duke of Venice, with the united power of the Venetians and Pisans, counting no fewer then seventy foure vessels well provided. They would have fought in the very haven of Tyre, but the Governour of the citie forbade it: It would be more scandalous to Christianity; The roving fireballs might hurt the citie, and sinking ships hinder the harbour; Besides, the conquered party would probably complain of the partiality of the place, that it more favoured one side; They should not fight under his nose; if they had a mind to it, let them out and try their fortunes in the open sea.

Chap. 24.

*The Genoan navie beaten by the Venetian; Sea and land-service compared, both in danger and honour.*

**A**ccordingly it was performed; out they go and fall to their work. Their galleys, like Ostriches, used their legges more then their wings, more running with oars then flying with sails. At that time, before Ordinance was found out, ships were both gunnes and bullets themselves, and furiously ranne one against another.

They began with this aritation: Herein strength was much but not all; nimbleness was also very advantageous to break and slent the down-right rushings of a stronger vessel. Then fell they to grappling: Here the steady ship had the better of it; and those souldiers who best kept their legges could best use their arms, the surest stander being alwayes the soundest striker. Much valour was shewed on both sides, and at last the victorie fell to the Venetian. The Genoans losing five and twenty of their ships, fled, and saved the rest in the haven of Tyre, after a most cruel and desperate battel.

And surely, generally sea-fights are more bloody then those on the land, especially since gunnes came up, whose shot betwixt

Anno Dom. ~~~~~

Anno Dom. ~~~~~

twixt wind and water (like those wounds so often mentioned in the Scripture under the fifth rib) is commonly observed mortal. Yea, farre harder it is for a ship, when arrested and engaged in a battel, to clear it self, then for souldiers by land to save themselves by flight. Here neither his own two nor his horses foure legges can bestead any; but like accidents they must perish with their subjects, and sink with their ship.

And then why is a sea-victory lesse honour, being more dangerous, then one achieved by land? Is it because sea-service is not so generall, nor so full of varieties, and the mysteries thereof sooner learned? or because in sea-fights fortune may seem to be a deeper sharer, and valour not so much interested? Whatsoever it is, the laurel purchased on land hath a more lively verdure then that which is got at sea.

We return to the Venetians: Who using or rather abusing this conquest, enter Ptolemais, cast out all Genoans thence, throw down their buildings both publick and private, demolish the fort which they had builded at S. Saba, rife and spoil their shops, ware-houses and store-houses: onely the Pope prevailed so farre with them, that they set at liberty the prisoners they had taken.

Ten yeares did this warre last betwixt these two States in Syria, composed at last (saith my Authour) by the authority of Pope Clement the fourth, and by famine (the bad cause of a good effect) which in Palestine starved them into agreement. Longer these warres lasted betwixt them in Italy: their successes like the sea; they fought on ebbing and flowing. In this costly warre Pisa was first beggered; and for all her politick partaking, Genoa at last trode so heavy upon her, that ever since she hath drooped and hung the wing, and at this day is maid to Florence, who formerly was mistress of a good part of Italy. But I have no calling and lesse comfort to prosecute these bloody dissensions: For warres of Christians against Infidels, are like the heat of exercise which serveth to keep the body of Christianity in health; but these civil warres amongst themselves, like the heat of a fever, dangerous, and destructive of religion.

## Chap. 25.

*Charles made King of Sicily and Jerusalem by the Pope; Hugh King of Cyprus pretendeth also to go to Jerusalem.*

\* Platina, in  
Urban. iv.

WE have now gotten Pantaleon, a Frenchman, who succeeded Robert in the titular \* Patriarchship of Jerusalem, to be Pope, by the name of Urbane the fourth. To advance the Holy cause, after fourteen yeares *interregnum* in Syria, he appointed Charles Duke of Anjou, younger brother to King Lewis of France, King of Sicily and Jerusalem, and it was ratified by Clement the fourth his successour.

This honour was first offered to Lewis himself; but piety had dried up in him all ambitious humours: then to our Henry of England; but his warre-wasted purse could not stretch to the Popes price: At last, this Charles accepted it. But it is not for any speciall favour to the bussh, if a man runne under it in a storm: it was no love to Charles, but to himself, to be sheltered from Maufred, that the Pope conferred this honour upon him. And the wife of Charles, that he might go in equipage with her three sisters, being Queens, sold all her \* jewels to furnish her husband with money to purchase these Kingdomes: that sex loving bravery well, but greatnesse better.

Now the Pope (whose well-grounded and bounded bountie will never undo him; for where he giveth away the meat he selleth the fauce) \* conditioned with Charles on these terms: First, that he should conquer Maufred then King of Sicily, who molested the Pope; and that he should finally subdue all the remaining race of Frederick the second, Emperour, who claimed that Kingdom. Secondly, in acknowledgement that he held these Kingdomes from the Pope, he should pay him an annuall pension of foure (some say, forty) thousand pounds. Provided, if this Charles should chance to be chosen Emperour of Germany, that then he should either resigne Sicily back again into the hands of his Holinesse, \* or not accept the Empire. For he knew that all Emperours would be possessed with an antipapall spirit; and that they would hold Sicily, not in homage from the Church, but as a member of the Empire: Besides, the Pope would not dispense that Princes should hold pluralitie of temporall Dominions in Italy; especially, he was so ticklish he could not endure the same Prince should embrace him on both sides.

Ever since, the twinne-titles of Sicily and Jerusalem have gone

\* Belsidus,  
De reg. Sicil.  
pag. 645, &  
649.

\* See these  
conditions at  
large (five  
and twenty  
in number)  
out of Jo.  
Anton. Sum-  
mont. cited  
in Belsidus,  
pag. 647.

\* Platina, in  
Clem. iv.  
Néve Impé-  
rium Romanum,  
etiam  
ultra obli-  
tum, acci-  
peret.

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Dom.  
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Dom.  
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gone together; and fit it is that the shadow should follow the substance. Charles subdued Maufred and Conradine his nephew (the last of the Suevian race, and grandchild to Emperour Frederick) and was possessed of Sicilie, and lived there; but as for the gaining of Jerusalem, he little regarded it, nor came thither at all: A watchfull King, who never slept in his Kingdome.

His absence gave occasion to \* Hugh King of Cyprus to furnish up new his old title to the Kingdome, as lineally descended from Almerick the second. And coming to Prolemais, he there was crowned King of Jerusalem: But the extremity of the famine (all things being excessive deare) much abated the solemnity and state of his Coronation.

\* Calvisius, in  
anno 1269.  
ex Marino  
Sannio.

1269  
Sept.  
27.

## Chap. 26.

*The Tartarians alienated from the Christians; Bendocdar tyrannizeth over them, and Lewis King of France setteth forth again for to succour them.*

BUT betwixt two Kings the Kingdome went to the ground: For Haalon the Tartarian Prince, & late Christian convert, was returned home to succeed his brother Mango in the Empire, leaving Abaga his sonne with competent forces in the city of Damascus, which he had wonne from the Turks. Soon after, Abaga followed his father, and substituted Guirboca his Lieutenant in Damascus.

This Guirboca, upon the occasion of his nephew rashly slain by the Christians in a broil, fell off wholly from Christianity, with all the Tartarians his countrey men. The occasion this; The Dutch Christians return with great booty they had taken from the Turks: \* Guirboca's nephew meeteth them, demandeth it for himself; the Christians deny him (as souldiers are very tender-conscienced in that point, counting it a great sinne to part with the spoil they are possessed of:) hence brawls, then blows; Guirboca's nephew is slain: Hereat the Tartarians (who were very humourous in their friendship; if not observed to an inch, lost for ever) in discontent, all either reel aside to Mahomet, or fall back to Paganisme.

Herein the Christians cannot be excused: Infant-converts must be well tended. It had been discretion in them, even against discretion to have yeelded a little to these Tartarians, and so to continue their amity, which was so advantageous to the Holy warre.

\* Calvisius, ex  
Marino Sa-  
nnio, in anno  
1269.

\* Magdeburg.  
Cent. 11. cap.  
16. col. 99.

1262.

warr. How-ever, one may question the truth of their conversion, whether reall at first: This spring was too forward to hold; and the speedy withering of their religion argueth it wanted root. And as tame foxes, if they break loose and return wild, do ten times more mischief then those which were wild from the beginning; so these renegadoes raged more furiously then any Pagans against religion. Guirboca sacrificed many Christians to the ghost of his nephew, destroyed Cæsarea and burnt it, using all cruelty against the inhabitants.

Nor lesse were the Christians plagued at the same time with Bendocdar the Mammeluke Prince in Egypt; who succeeded Melechchem, and every where raging against them, either killed or forced them to forswear their religion. The city of Joppa he took and burned; and then wonne Antioch, slaying therein twenty thousand, and carrying away captive an hundred thousand Christians. But it may justly be suspected that these numbers were written first in figures, and therefore at too much length, when the adding of nothing may increase many thousands.

These wofull tidings brought into Europe, so wrought on the good disposition of Lewis King of France, that he resolved to make a second voyage into Palestine to succour the Christians.

He so fixed his mind on the journeys end, that he saw not the dangers in the way. His Counsel could not dissuade, though they did dissuade him. First, they urged, That he was old; let younger men take their turns: They recounted to him his former ill successe; How lately had that hot countrey scorched the lilies of France, not onely to the blasting of the leaves, but almost withering of the root? Besides, the sinews of the Christians in Syria were so shrunk, that though lifted up, they could not stand; That Nature decayed, but not thus wholly destroyed, was the subject of physick; That the Turks had got a habit of conquering, and riveted themselves into the possession of the countrey; so that this voyage would but fleet the cream of the Kingdome to cast it into the fire.

But as a vehement flame maketh fuel of whatsoever it meeteth; so this Kings earnest resolution turned bridles into spurs, and hindrances into motives to his journey. Was he old? let him make the more speed, lest envious death should prevent him of this occasion of honour. Had he spent ill formerly? he would seek his credit where he lost it: Surely, Fortunes lottery had not all blanks, but that after long drawing he should light on a prize at last. Were the Christians in so low a case? the greater need they had of speedy help.

Thus was this good Kings judgement over-zealed. And surely

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surely though Devotion be the naturall heat, Discretion (which wanted in him) is the radicall moisture of an action, keeping it healthfull, prosperous, and long-lived.

Well, King Lewis will go, and to this end provideth his ravie; and is accompanied with Philip and Tristram his sonnes, Theobald King of Navarre his sonne in law, Alphonse his brother, and Guido Earl of Flandres. There went also Edward eldest sonne to Henry King of England. It was a wonder he would now adventure his head when he was to receive a Crown, his father being full-ripe to drop down without gathering, having reigned longer then most men live, fifty and five yeares. But thirty was this Edward of honour: Longshanks was he called; and as his strides were large, so vast and wide was the extent of his desire. As for his good father, he was content to let go the staff of his age for to be a prop to the Church. And though King Lewis was indiscreet in going this journey, he was wise in choosing this his companion, to have this active Prince along with him; it being good to eye a suspicious person, and not to leave him behind.

With Edward went his brother Edmund Earl of Lancaster, furnamed Crouch-back; not that he was crook-shouldered, or camel-backed: (From which our English Poet most zealously doth vindicate him;

*\* Edmund like him the comeliest Prince alive,*

*Not crook-back'd, ne in no wise disfigured,*

*As some men write, the right line to deprive,*

*Though great fallhood made it to be scripted.)*

but from the Croffe, anciently called a Crouch (whence Crouched Friars) which now he wore in his voyage to Jerusalem. And yet it maketh it somewhat suspicious, that in Latine \* records he is never read with any other epithet then *Gibbus*. But be he crooked or not, let us on straight with our story.

\* Hardings  
chap. 147.

\* Vincents  
Discoveries of  
Brooks et-  
rours, Tit.  
Lancaster.

## Chap. 27.

*King Lewis besiegeth the city of Tunis; His death and commendation.*

Lewis now having hoisted up sail, it was concluded by the Legenerall consent of his Counsel, That to secure and clear the Christians passage to Palestine from pirates, they should first take the city of Carthage in Africa by the way.

This Carthage long wrestled with Rome for the sovereignty,

216 and gave as many foils as she took, till Scipio at last crushed out her bowels with one deadly fall. Yet long after the citie stood before wholly demolished, to be a spur to put metall into the Romanes, and to be a forrein mark for their arrows, lest otherwise they should shoot against themselves. At last by the counsel of Cato it was quite destroyed: who alledged, That it was not safe to have a knife so neare their throat; and though good use might be made of an enemy at arms end, yet it was dangerous to have him too close to ones side; as Carthage was within a dayes sail from Rome.

Our of the ruines of this famous citie, Tunis arose; as often a stinking elder groweth out of the place where an oak hath been felled. Theeving was their trading: but then as yet they were Apprentises to piracie, whereof at this day they are grown Masters. Yea, not considerable was Tunis then in bignesse, great onely in mischief. But as a small scratch just upon the turning of a joynt is more troublesome then a bigger sore in another place; so this paltry town (the refuge of rogues, and wanderers home) seated in the passage betwixt Europe, Asia, and Africa, was a worse annoyance to Christian traffick then a whole countrey of Saracens elsewhere. Wherefore both to revenge the blood of many Christians, who passing this way to Palestine were either killed or taken captive, as also to secure the way for the time to come, Lewis with his whole fleet (augmented with the navy of Charles King of Sicilie and Jerusalem, his brother) bent his course to besiege it.

It was concluded both unnecessary and unfitting, first in a fair way to summon the city; because like pernicious vermine they were to be rooted out of the world by any means: nor was it meet to lavish the solemn ceremonies of warre on a company of thieves and murderers.

The siege was no sooner begun but the plague seized on the Christian armie: whereof thousands died; amongst others, Tristram King Lewis his sonne: And he himself of a flux followed after. This Lewis was the French Josiah, both for the piety of his life and wofulnesse of his death, engaging himself in a needlesse warre. Many good laws he made for his Kingdome: that not the worst, He first \* retrenched his Barons power to suffer parties to trie their intricate titles to land by duells. He severely punished blasphemers, \* fearing their lips with an hot iron. And because by his command it was executed upon a great rich citizen of Paris, some said he was a tyrant: He hearing it, said before many, I would to God that with fearing my own lips I could banish out of my realm all abuse of oathes. He loved more to heare Sermons then to be present at Masse: whereas on the contrary our \* Henry the third said, he had rather see his

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1270

\* See smaller  
Raleigh, hist.  
part. 1. lib. 5.  
cap. 3.

\* Alfonso Vil-  
leg in the life  
of S. Lewis.

\* Continuat.  
Blattb. Pa-  
ris in anno  
1273.

God

God then heare another speak of him though never so well. His body was carried into France there to be buried, and was most miserably tossed; it being observed, that the sea cannot digest the crudity of a dead corpse, being a due debt to be interred where it dieth; and a ship cannot abide to be made a bier of. He was Sainted after his death by Boniface the eighth, and the five and twentieth day of August (on which day in his first voyage to Palestine he went on shipboard) is consecrated to his memory. Herein he had better luck then as good a man, I mean our Henry the sixth, who could not be canonized without a mighty summe of money; belike Angels making Saints at Rome.

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### Chap. 28.

*Tunis taken; The French return home, whilest our Edward valiantly setteth forward for Palestine.*

1271

BY this time Tunis was brought to great distress, and at last on these conditions surrendered: That it should pay yearly to Charles King of Sicily and Jerusalem fourty thousand crowns; That it should receive Christian Ministers, freely to exercise their religion; If any Saracen would be baptized, he should be suffered; That all Christian captives should be set free; That they should pay back so much money as should defray the Christians charges in this voyage. Our Edward would needs have had the town beaten down, and all put to the sword; thinking the foulest quarter too fair for them. Their goods (because got by robbery) he would have sacrificed as an *anathema* to God, and burnt to ashes: His own share he execrated, and caused it to be burnt, forbidding the English to save any thing of it; because that coals stolen out of that fire, would sooner burn their houses then warm their hands. It troubled not the consciences of other Princes to enrich themselves herewith, but they glutted themselves with the stolen hony which they found in this hive of drones: And which was worse, now their bellies were full they would go to bed, return home, and go no further. Yea, the young King of France, called Philip the Bold, was fearful to prosecute his journey to Palestine; whereas Prince Edward struck his breast, and swore, That though all his friends forsook him, yet he would enter Ptolemais, though but onely with Fowin his horse-keeper. By which speech he incensed the English to go on with him.

The

The rest pleading the disemperature of the weather, went to Sicilly, in hope with change of aire to recover their health: Where many of them found what they sought to avoid, death: amongst other, Theobald King of Navarre, and Isabell his wife, and William Earl of Flandres, who ended their dayes at Drepanum. Besides, their navie was pursuivanted after with a horrible tempest, and a curse (entailed either on their ill-gotten goods, or deserting Gods cause, or both) arrested them in their return: so that of this great wealth little was landed in Europe, their ships being wracked, & the goods therein cast into the sea; with which the waves played a little, and then chopped them up at a morsel. Whilest the weather frowning on them, smiled on the English, Prince Edward no whit dammed either in his men or ships, with Elenor his tender confort then young with child, safely arrived at Ptolemais, to the great solace and comfort of the Christians there being in great distresse.

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1271

### Chap. 29.

*Prince Edwards performance in Palestine: He is dangerously wounded, yet recovereth, and returneth home safe.*

**A**T his arrivall the last stake of the Christians was on losing: For Bendocdar the Mammeluke Prince of Egypt and Syria, had brought Ptolemais to so low an ebbe, that they therein resolved (if some unexpected succour reversed not their intentions) within three dayes to resigne the city unto him. Edward landing stayed this precipitation, who arrived with his armie there in the very *interim*, in opportunity it self, which is the very quintessence of time; so that all concluded his coming (thus hitting the mark) was guided by the hand of an especiall providence.

And now those who before in despair would have thrown up their cards, hope at least to make a saving game; and the Christians taking comfort and courage, both desie their enemies, and their own thoughts of surrendring the citie. Prince Edward having sufficiently manned and victualled Ptolemais, taking six or seven thousand souldiers, marched to Nazareth, which he took, and slew those he found there. After this, about midsummer, understanding the Turks were gathered together at Cakhow fourty miles off, very early in the morning he set upon them, slew a thousand, and put the rest to flight.

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In these skirmishes he gave evident testimonies of his personall valour: Yea, in cold blood he would boldly challenge any Infidel to a duell. To speak truth, this his conceived perfection was his greatest imperfection: For the world was abundantly satisfied in the point of his valour; yet such was his confidence of his strength, and eagernes of honour, that having merited the esteem of a most stout man, he would still supererogate: yea, he would profer to fight with any mean person, if cried up by the *voige* for a tall man: this daring being a generall fault in great spirits, and a great fault in a Generall, who staketh a pearl against a piece of glasse. The best was, in that age a man fighting with sword and buckler, had in a manner many lives to lose; and duells were not dangerous.

Whilest he stayed at Ptolemais, Elenor his Lady was delivered of a fair daughter, called from her birth-place Joane of Acres: But fear of her husbands death abated her joy at her daughters birth. The Turks not matching him in valour, thought to master him with treachery, which was thus contrived: The Admirall of Joppa, a Turk, pretended he would turn Christian, and imployed one Anzazim an Assasine in the business betwixt him and Prince Edward, who carried himself so cunningly, that by often repairing to our Prince he got much credit and esteem with him.

\* Some write, this Anzazim was before alwayes bred underground (as men keep hawks and warre-horses in the dark, to make them more fierce) that so coming abroad, he should fear to venture on no man. But sure, so cunning a companion had long conversed with light, and been acquainted with men, yea, Christians and Princes, as appeareth by his complying carriage; else, if he had not been well read in their company, he could not have been so perfect in his lesson. But let him be bred any where, or in hell it self: For this was his religion, To kill any he was commanded, or on the non-performance willingly to forfeit his life.

1272

The fifth time of his coming he brought Prince Edward letters from his Master, which whilest he was reading alone and lying on his bed, he struck him into the arm with an invenomed knife. Being about to fetch another stroke, the Prince with his foot gave him such a blow that he felled him to the ground; and wresting the knife from him, ranne the Turk into the belly, and slew him; yet so, that in struggling he hurt himself therewith in the forehead. At this noise in sprang his servants, and one of them with a stool beat the brains out of the dead Turks head, shewing little wit in his own; and the Prince was highly displeased, that the monument of his valour

\* Continuat.  
Matth. Paris.  
in anno 1272  
pag. 1345.

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\* Speed, in Edward the first.

\* See Fox Mariage, pag. 337.

\* P. Emly. in D. Ludovico, pag. 127.

\* Continuat. Matth. Paris. in anno 1272. pag. 1347.

lour should be stained with anothers crueltie.

It is storied, how \* Elenor his Lady sucked all the poison out of his wounds, without doing any harm to her self: So soveraigne a medicine is a womans tongue, anointed with the vertue of loving affection. Pity it is so pretty a story should not be true (with all the miracles in Loves Legends) and sure he shall get himself no credit, who undertaketh to confute a passage so founding to the honour of the sex: Yet can it not stand with what \* others have written; How the Physician who was to dresse his wounds, spake to the Lord Edmund and the Lord John Voy sic to take away Lady Elenor out of the Princes presence, lest her pity should be cruel towards him, in not suffering his sores to be searched to the quick. And though she cried out and wrung her hands, Madame, said they, be contented; it is better that one woman should weep a little while then that all the realm of England should lament a great season: And so they conducted her out of the place. And the Prince, by the benefit of physick, good attendance, and an antidote the Master of the Templars gave him, shewed himself on horse-back whole and well within fifteen days after.

The Admirall of Joppa hearing of his recovery, utterly disavowed that he had any hand in the treachery: as none will willingly father unsucceeding villany. True it is, he was truly sorrowfull; whether because Edward was so bad, or no worle wounded, he knoweth that knoweth hearts. \* Some wholly acquit him herein, and conceive this mischief proceeded from Simon Earl of Montforts hatred to our Prince, who bearing him and all his kindred an old grudge for doing some conceived wrong to his father (in very deed, nothing but justice to a rebell) hired, as they think, this Assassine to murder him; as a little before for the same quarrel he had served Henry sonne to Richard King of the Romanes, and our Edwards cousin-germane, at Viterbo in Italy. It is much this Simon living in France should contrive this Princes death in Palestine: but malice hath long arms, and can take men off at great distance. Yea, this addeh to the cunning of the engineer, to work unseen; and the further from him the blow is given, the lesse is he himself suspected.

Whosoever plotted, God prevented it, and the Christians there would have revenged it, but Edward would not suffer them. In all haste they would have marched and fallen on the Turks, had not he \* dissuaded them, because then many Christians unarmed, and in small companies, were gone to visit the Sepulchre, all whose throats had then probably been cut before their return.

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Eighteen moneths he stayed at Ptolemais, and then came back through Italy, without doing any extraordinary matter in Palestine. What musick can one string make when all the rest are broken: what could Edward do alone, when those Princes fell back on whom the project most relied? Lewis and Charles were the main undertakers; Edward entertained but as an adventurer and sharer: and so he furnished himself accordingly, with competent forces to succour others, but not to subsist of themselves. But as too often, where the principall miscarrieth, the second & sureties must lie at the stake to make the debt good: so in their default he valiantly went forward, though having in all but thirteen ships and some thousands of men (too many for a plain Prince to visit with, and too few for a great one to warre with) and performed what lay within the compasse of his power. In a word, his coming to Ptolemais and assisting them there, was like a cordiall given to a dying man, which doth piece out his life (or death rather) a few grones and as many gasps the longer.

By this time Henry his aged father being dead (his lamp not quenched but going out for want of oil) the English Nobility came as far as the Alpes in Savoy to wait on Edward in his return. Leave we him then to be attended home by them to receive the Crown, to which no lesse his virtues then birth entitled him. Since the Conquest he was the first King of his name, and the first that settled the Law and State (deserving the style of \* Englands Justinian) and that freed this Kingdome from the wardship of the Peers, shewing himself in all his actions after, capable to command not the realm onely but the whole world.

\* St Robert Cotton, in his Henry iii.

### Chap. 30.

*Rodolphus the Emperours voyage to Palestine hindered. The Duke of Mecklenburg his captivity and enlargement.*

BEfore Edwards departure, Hugh King of Jerusalem and Cyprus concluded a peace (to our \* Princes small liking) with the Mammeluke Sultan of Egypt, to hold onely in and neare Ptolemais; whereby the Christians had some breathing-time. But that which now possessed all mens thoughts and talk in Syria, was the expectation of Rodolphus to come thither with a great army, who (after two and twenty yeares *interregnum*) was chosen Emperour of Germany.

1273

This Rodolphus was a mean Earl of Haspurg (Frederick the last Emperour was his \* godfather, who little thought, that having so many sonnes of his own, his godsonne should next succeed him)

\* Marinus Sanutus.

\* Pantul. De illu. Germ. part. 1. in vita Rodolphi.

Ff

and

and lived in a private way. But now the Empire refusing her rich suiters, married this Earl without any portion, onely for pure love. A preferment beyond his expectation, not above his deserts: For Germany had many bigger lights, none brighter. Pope Gregory the tenth would not ratifie his election, but on this condition, That he should in person march with an armie to Palestine. And though this was but an old policie, To send the Emperours far away, that so he might command in chief in their absence; yet his Holiness did so turn and dresse this thread-bare plot with specious pretences of piety, that it passed for new and fresh, especially to those that beheld it at distance. But Rodolphus could not be spared out of Germany, being then employed in civil discords: The ~~knees~~ of the Dutch Princes were too stiff to do him homage, till he softned them by degrees. And indeed he was not provided for the Holy warre, and wanted a stock of his own to drive so costly a trade, having no paternall lands considerable, no bottom to begin on; though through his thrift and providence he first laid the foundation of the Austrian familie.

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Yet somewhat to answer expectation, he sent Henry Duke of Mecklenburg with competent forces into Palestine: Who coming to Ptolemais, made many notable incursions into the countrey about Damasco, with fire & sword destroying all as he went, & carrying thence many rich booties; till at last he was circumvented and taken prisoner by the Mammelukes. Twenty six yeares he lived in captivity, keeping his conscience free all the while: At last the Sultan of Egypt (a renegado Germane, who formerly had been engineer to this Dukes father) set him at liberty, together with Martine his servant; that he who so long had shared of his misery, might also partake of his happinesse. No sooner had this Duke put to sea, but he was again taken by pirates; and the Sultan, out of pity to this distressed Prince, and out of scorn that fortune should frustrate and defeat his reall courtesie, set him free again. At last he came safely home, and was there welcomed with as much wonder as joy; his subjects conceiving his return a resurrection, having buried him in their thoughts long before.

Here he found \* two counterfeits, who pretended themselves to be this Duke, and on that title challenged lodging with Anastasia his Lady. But the one of them had a softer bedfellow provided him, a pool of water, wherein he was drowned; the other was made a bonfire of, to solemnize the joy of the Dukes return.

Chap.

\* Partial. De  
illustr. Germ  
part. 2. pag.  
245.

Chap. 31.

*Charles King of Jerusalem; His intentions in Syria stopped by the Sicilian Vespers; His death, and sonnes succession.*

BY this time Charles King of Jerusalem and Sicily had made great preparations for the Holy warre. And to make his claim to the Kingdome of Jerusalem the stronger, he bought also the title of Maria Domicella Princeesse of Antioch, which pretended a right to the same. He sent also Roger the Count of S. Severine as his Vice-roy to Ptolemais: where he was honourably received in despite of Hugh King of Cyprus, by the especiall favour of Albertine Morisine the Venetian Consul there. And now his navie was reported to be readie, and that by the way he had a project upon Michael Paleologus the Emperour of Greece: When all his intentions were suddenly blasted; it so happening, that on Easter day, as the bell tolled to Even-song, all the throats of the Frenchmen in Sicily were cut in a moment by the natives thereof, and that Island wonne by Peter King of Aragon. The grand contriver of this massacre was one Jacobus Prochyta a Physician; and I dare say he killed more in an houre then he cured all his life-time.

Those that condemn the Sicilians herein, cannot excuse the French; such formerly had been their pride, lust, covetousnesse, and cruelty to the people of that Island, putting them causelessly to exquisite torture, so that an ordinary hanging was counted an extraordinary favour. But the secretie of contriving this slaughter of the French was little lesse then miraculous; that so many knowing it, none should discover it; like cunning dogs, barking in triumph after they had bitten, not before, to give any warning. Hence grew the proverb of *the Sicilian Vespers*; though their Even-song was nothing to the English Mattens intended in the Gunpowder-treason. Mean time King Charles was at Rome, beholding the making of Cardinals, when this dolefull news was brought unto him, and struck him to the heart. He survived a yeare or two longer, but dull and melancholick, living as it were without life, and died at last, having reigned King of Jerusalem twenty yeares. A Prince which had tasted of various successse; fortune for a while smiling on him, and at last laughing at him.

His sonne Charles succeeded him in the Kingdome of Naples and in the title of Jerusalem. He was surnamed *Cunctator*, Delayer; not in the same sense as Fabius the Shield of Rome was so called: he onely stayed till opportunity was come; our Charles, till it was passed. I find nothing memorable of him except this, That

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offended with the Templars in Palestine for taking part against him with the King of Cyprus, he seized on their lands, and confiscated all their goods they had in Naples or any other part of his dominions. However, let him have room in the catalogue of our Kings of Jerusalem. For as high hills neare the sea-side, though otherwise never so base and barren ground, yet will serve to be sea-marks for the direction of mariners: so this Charles, together with Hugh, John, and Henry, Kings of Cyprus, pretending also to Jerusalem, though we read nothing remarkable of them, will become the front of a page, and serve to divide and distinguish times, and to parcel the history the better to our apprehension. As for the bare anatomy of their reigne (for we find it not fleshed with any history) with the dares of their beginnings and endings, we shall present it to the reader hereafter in our Chronologic.

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### Chap. 32.

*The succession of the Mammeluke Princes in Egypt. Alpir taketh Tripoli and Tyre; The wofull estate of Ptolemais.*

**B**Ut whilst these titular Kings slept, the Mammeluke Princes were vigilant to infect the reliques of the Christians in Palestine: Which Princes succession we will adventure to set down; nor are we discouraged with the difficulties which encounter us herein. The hardnesse in the story of the Mammelukes proceedeth (as we conceive) from one of these causes: First, the State is not written directly, but by reflexion; not storied by any constant writer of their own, but in snaps and parcels, as the Chroniclers of neighbouring Christian countreys have catched at them. Secondly, out of a popular error, their chief Captains by reason of their large authority passe for absolute Kings. Thirdly, the same King hath many names, and the same name by translation in sundry languages is strangely disguised. However, we will use our best conjectures in these uncertainties: and a dimme candle is better then no light.

Bendocdar or Bandodacar, otherwise Melechdaer, was the last Egyptian Prince we mentioned. A dangerous man to the Christians, but that Abaga the Tartarian took him to task, and kept him in continuall employment. This Abaga had a pretty trick to make cowards valiant, causing them that ran away from the battel, ever after to wear womens clothes. Bendocdar died at Damascus of a \* wound he received in Armenia; or, as some say, by cold in swimming over Euphrates.

Elpis

\* Vide Calvisium in anno 1277. & Magdeburg. Cent. 13.

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Elpis succeeded him, his \* sonne (say some;) but the Mammelukes laws forbid that, except his extraordinary worth was his faculty, & dispensed with him *ad succedendum patri*. But who knoweth not that the Eastern tongue speaketh nephews and kinsmen to be somes? Some wholly omit him; enough to make us suspect that he was onely some Deputy clapped in to stop up the vacancie till Melechsaïtes was chosen.

1285

Melechsaïtes (called by Marinus, Melechmessor) wonne the strong castle of Mergath from the Hospitallers. He much loved and was very bountifull to the Carmelites, who lived dispersed in Syria: but afterwards he banished them out of his countrey, because they altered their habit, and wore white coats at the appointment of Pope Honorius; the Turks being generally enemies to innovations, and loving constancy in old customes. Nor was this any mishap but an advantage to the Carmelites, to lose their dwellings in Syria, and gain better in Europe, where they planted themselves in the fittest places: So that he who knoweth not to choose good ground, let him find out an house of the Carmelites (a mark that faileth not) for his direction.

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Alpir was next to Melechsaïtes, otherwise called Elsi. He perceiving that now or never was the time finally to expell the Christians out of Palestine, whilst the Princes in Europe were in civil warres, besieged and wonne Tripoli, Sidon, Berytus, and Tyre, beating them down to the ground, but suffering the inhabitants on some conditions to depart. Nothing now was left but Ptolemais: which Alpir would not presently besiege, lest he should draw the Christians in Europe upon him; but concluded a peace for five yeares with the Venetians, as not willing wholly to exasperate them by winning all from them at once, and thinking this bitter potion would be better swallowed by them at two severall draughts.

Mean time Ptolemais was in a wofull condition. In it were some of all countreys, so that he who had lost his nation, might find it here. Most of them had severall courts to decide their causes in; and the plenty of Judges caused the scarcity of justice, malefactours appealing to a triall in the courts of their own countrey. It was sufficient innocency for any offender in the Venetian court, that he was a Venetian. Personall acts were entituled nationall, and made the cause of the countrey. Outrages were every where praigised, no where punished; as if to spare Divine revenge the pains of overtaking them, they would go forth and meet it. At the same time, they were in fitters about prosecuting their titles to this city, no fewer then the Venetians, Genoans, Pisans, Florentines, the Kings of Cyprus and Sicily, the Agents for the Kings of France and England, the Princes of Tripoli and Antioch, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Masters of the Templars

Ff 3

and

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\* Magdeburg.  
Cent. 13. cap.  
16. col. 701.



226 and Hospitallers, and (whom I should have named first) the Legate of his Holinesse, all at once with much violence contending about the right of right nothing, the title to the Kingdome of Jerusalem, and command of this city; like bees, making the greatest humming and buzzing in the hive when now ready to leave it.

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Dom.

Chap. 33.

*Ptolemais besieged, and taken by Sultan Serapha.*

Within the city were many voluntaries lately come over, five hundred whereof were of the Popes furnishing. But belike he failed afterwards in his payment to them, the golden tide flowing not so fast out as into his Holinesse coffers. The souldiers being not payed, according to their blunt manners, would pay themselves; and marching out, pillaged the countrey contrary to the truce: Sultan Serapha (who succeeded Alphir) demanding restitution, is denied, and his Embassadours ill intreated.

Hereupon he sitteth down before the city with six hundred thousand men. But we are not bound to beleve that Alexanders souldiers were so big as their shields speak them which they left in India, nor Asian armies so numerous as they are reported. Allow the Turks dominions spacious and populous, and that they rather drained then chose souldiers; yet we had best credit the most niggardly writers, which make them an hundred and fifty thousand. Serapha resolveth to take it, conceiving so convenient a purchase could not be over-bought: The place, though not great, yet was a mote in the eye of the Turkish Empire, and therefore pained them.

Peter Belvise Master of the Templars, a valiant Captain, had the command of the city assigned him by generall consent. He encouraged the Christians to be valiant, not like prodigall heirs to lose this city for nothing which cost their grandfathers so much blood; at least let them give one blaze of valour ere their candle went out. How should they shew their friends their faces, if they shewed their foes their backs! Let them fight it out manfully; that so, if forced at last to surrender it, they might rather be pitied for want of fortune then justly blamed for lack of valour.

And now Ptolemais being to wrestle her last fall, stripped her self of all cumbersome clothes: women, children, aged persons, weak folks (all such hindering help, and mouthes without arms) were sent away; and twelve thousand remained, conceived competent to make good the place.

Serapha marcheth up furiously; his men assault the city, with open jaws ready to devour it, had not their mouthes been stopped with the artillery the Christians shot at them. Back they were

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were beaten, and many a Turk slain. But Serapha was no whit sensible thereof: who willingly would lose a thousand men in a morning for a breakfast, double so many at a dinner, and continue this costly ordinary for some dayes together; yea, in spite he would spend an ounce of Turkish blood, to draw a drop of Christian.

In this conflict Peter Belvise was slain with a poisoned arrow: A losse above grieving for. Many were strong in desiring the honour who were weak to discharge the office. But the worst mischief was, the Christians were divided amongst themselves, and neglected to defend the citie, conceiving that though that was taken, yet every particular nation could defend it self, having their buildings severally fortified: And this dangerous fanle took off their thoughts from the publick good, and fixed them on their private ends. Mean time, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and others (some name with them Henry King of Jerusalem and Cyprus) more seeking their safety then honour, secretly fled (with their bodies after their hearts) out of the city; and some of them shunning a noble death, fell on a base end, being drowned in the sea. Their cowardlineffe is imputed by some Authours to all the rest; whereas it appeareth on the contrary, they most valiantly behaved themselves.

1291 At last, the Turks entred the city by undermining the walls, and conceived their work now done, when it was new begun. For they found Ptolemais not a city, but a heap of cities thrown together: wherein the people of every countrey so sensed themselves in their severall forts, that they powdered the Turks with their shot when they entred the streets. It is hardly to be paralleled in any siege, that a taken city was so long before it was taken: for it held out fifty dayes; and the Knights-Hospitallers made good their castle for two whole moneths together. But alas! as the severall parts of *Insecta* being cut asunder, may wriggle and stirre a while, not live long; so these divided limbes could not long subsist, and at last most of them were slain.

Yet was it a bloody victory to the Turks; most of them that entred the city being either burned with fire, or killed with arrows, or smothered with the fall of towres, the very ruines (as thirsty of revenge) killing those that ruined them.

Serapha evened all to the ground, and (lest the Christians should ever after land here) demolished all buildings; the Turks holding this position, That the best way to be rid of such vermine, is to have the hair clean off, and to destroy all places wherein they may nestle themselves.

Some say, he plowed the ground whereon the city stood, and sowed it with corn: but an eye-witnesse affirmeth, that still there remain magnificent ruines, seeming rather wholly to consist of

\* Lampad. Mellif. hist. par. 3. pag. 313.

\* Sand. Trav. pag. 204.

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of divers conjoynd castles, then any way intermingled with private dwellings.

No fewer then an hundred thousand Latine Christians (all that were left in Syria) fled at this time into Cyprus. It is strange what is reported, \* That above five hundred matrones and virgins of noble blood, standing upon the shore of Ptolemais, and having all their richest jewels with them, cried out with lamentable voice, and profered to any mariner that would undertake safely to land them any-where, all their wealth for his hire, and also that he should choose any one of them for his wife. Then a certain mariner came, and transporting them all freely, safely landed them in Cyprus; nor by any enquiry could it after be known (when he was sought for to receive his hire) who this mariner was, nor whither he went.

The Hospitallers for haste were faine to leave their treasure behind them, and hide it in a vault; which being made known from time to time to their successours, was fetched from thence by the \* galleys of Malta about three hundred yeares afterwards.

Henry King of Cyprus to his great cost and greater commendation, gave free entertainment to all Pilgrimes that fled hither, till such time as they could be transported to their own countreys; and thanks was all the shot expected of these guests at their departure.

Thus after an hundred ninety and foure yeares ended the Holy warre; for continuance the longest, for money spent the costliest, for bloudshed the cruellest, for pretences the most pious, for the true intent the most politick the world ever saw. And at this day, the Turks to spare the Christians their pains of coming so long a journey to Palestine, have done them the unwelcome courtesie, to come more then half the way to give them a meeting.

*The end of the fourth Book.*

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# A Supplement of the Historie of the HOLY WARRE.

## Book V.

### Chap. I.

#### *The executing of the Templars in France.*



MY task is done. Whatsoever remaineth is voluntary & over-measure, onely to hemme the end of our historie that it ravel not out: As to shew, What became of the Templars, the Teutonick Order, and the Hospitallers; What were the hindrances of this warre; What nation best deserved in it; What officers were afterwards made to recover Jerusalem; By how many challengers that title at this day is claimed; What is the present strength of Jerusalem; What hope to regain it, with some other passages which offer attendance on these principall heads.

Know then, Some nineteene yeares after the Christians had lost all in Palestine, the Templars, by the cruel deed of Pope Clement the fifth, and foul fact of Philip the Fair King of France, were finally \* extirpated out of all Christendome. The historie thereof is but in twilight, not clearly delivered, but darkened with many doubts and difficulties: We must pick out letters and syllables here and there as well as we may, all which put together spell thus much.

Pope Clement having long sojourned in France, had received many reall courtesies from Philip the King; yea, he owed little lesse then himself to him. At last, Philip requested of him a boon, great enough for a King to ask and a Pope to grant; namely, all the lands of the Knights Templars through

G g

France,

\* Sabellicus,  
Ema. g. lib. 7.  
Platina, in  
vita Clem. V.

France, forfeited by reason of their horrible heresies and licentious living. The Pope was willing to gratifie him in some good proportion for his favours received (as thankfulness is alwayes the badge of a good nature) and therefore being thus long the Kings guest, he gave him the Templars lands and goods to pay for his entertainment.

On a sudden all the Templars in France they clapt into prison, wisely catching those Lions in a net, which had they been fairly hunted to death; would have made their part good with all the dogs in France. Damnable sinnes were laid to their charge; as, sacrificing of men to an idol they worshipped, roasting of a Templars bastard and drinking his bloud, spitting upon the crosse of Christ, conspiring with Turks and Saracens against Christianitie, Sodomie, bestialitie, with many other villanies out of the rode of humane corruption, and as farre from mans nature as Gods law.

Well; the Templars thus shut in prison, their crimes were half-proved. The sole witness against them was one of their own Order, a notorious malefactor; who at the same time being in prison and to suffer for his own offenses, condemned by the Master of their Order, sought to prove his own innocency by charging all his own Order to be guiltie. And his case standing thus, he must either kill or be killed, die or put others to death, he would be sure to provide water enough to drive the mill, and swore most heartily to whatsoever was objected against the Order. Besides, the Templars being brought upon the rack, confessed the accusations to be true wherewith they were charged. Hereupon all the Templars through France were most cruelly burned to death at a stake, with James the grand Master of their Order.

## Chap. 2.

### *Arguments produced on either side, both for the innocencie and guiltinesse of the Templars.*

There is scarce a harder question in later historie then this, Whether the Templars justly or unjustly were condemned to suffer. On the one side, it is dangerous to affirm they were innocent, because condemned by the Pope, infallible in matters of such consequence. This bugbear affrighteth many, and maketh their hands shake when they write hereof. If they should say the Templars were burned wrongfully, they may be fetched over the coals themselves for charging his Holiness

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ness to deeply; yea, hereby they bring so much innocent bloud on the Popes head as is enough to drown him: Some therefore in this matter know little, and dare speak lesse, for fear of after-claps. Secondly, some who suspect that one eye of the Church may be dimme, yet hold that both the eyes, the Pope and generall Council together, cannot be deceived.

Now the Council of Vienne countenanced the extirpation of the Templars, determined the dissolution of their Order, and adjudged their lands to be conferred on the Knights-Hospitalers. Men ought then to be well advised how they condemn a generall Council to be accessorie *post factum* to the murder of so many men.

For all this, those who dare not hollow, do whisper on the other side, accounting the Templars not malefactours but martyrs: First, because the witness was insufficient, a malefactor against his Judge; and secondly, they bring tortured men against themselves. Yea, there want not those that maintain that a confession extorted on the rack is of no validity. If they be weak men and unable to endure torment, they will speak any thing; and in this case their words are endited not from their heart but outward limbes that are in pain: and a poore conquest it is, to make either the hand of a child to beat, or the tongue of the tortured man to accuse himself. If they be sturdie and stubborn, whose backs are paved against torments, such as bring brazen sides against steely whips, they will confesse nothing. And though these Templars were stout & valiant men, yet it is to be commended to ones consideration, whether slavish and servile souls will not better bear torment, then generous spirits, who are for the enduring of honourable danger and speedie death, but not provided for torment, which they are not acquainted with, neither is it the proper object of valour.

Again, it is produced in their behalf, that being burned at the stake, they denied it at their death, though formerly they had confessed it; and whose charitie, if not stark-blind, will not be so tender-eyed as to beleeve that they would not breathe out their soul with a lie, and wilfully contract a new guilt in that very instant wherein they were to be arraigned before the Judge of heaven. A Templar being to be burned at Burdeaux, and seeing the Pope and King Philip looking out at a window, cried unto them, \* Clement thou cruel tyrant, seeing there is no higher amongst mortall men to whom I should appeal for my unjust death, I cite thee together with King Philip to the tribunal of Christ the just Judge who redeemed me, there both to appear within one yeare and a day, where I will lay open my cause, and justice shall be done without any

G g 2 by-respect.

\* Hist. de  
orig. Mon.  
cap. 18. fol.  
193.

232  
\* P. Amytius,  
in Philippo  
Pulchro.

by-respect. In like manner, \* James grand Master of the Templars, though by piecemeal he was tortured to death, craved pardon of God, and those of his Order, That forced by extremities of pain on the rack, and allured with hope of life, he had accused them of such damnable finnes, whereof they were innocent.

Moreover, the people with their suffrage acquitted them: happie was he that could get an handfull of their ashes into his bosome, as the Relique of pious martyrs, to preserve. Indeed little heed is to be given to peoples humours; whose judgement is nothing but prejudice and passion, and commonly envie all in prosperitie, pitie all in adversitie, though often both undeservedly: And we may beleve that the beholding of the Templars torments when they were burned, wrought in the people first a commiserating of their persons, and so by degrees a justifying of their cause. However *vulgus non semper errat, aliquando eligit*: and though it matters little for the gales of a private mans fanisie, yet it is something when the wind bloweth from all corners: And true it is, they were generally cried up for innocents.

Lastly, Pope Clement and King Philip were within the time prefixed summoned by death to answer to God for what they had done. And though it is bad to be busie with Gods secrets, yet an argument drawn from the event, especially when it goeth in company with others, as it is not much to be depended on, so it is not wholly to be neglected. Besides, King Philip missed of his expectation, and the morsel fell besides his mouth; for the lands of the Templars, which were first granted to him as a portion for his youngest sonne, were afterwards by the Council of Vienne bestowed on the Knights-Hospitallers.

## Chap. 3.

## A moderate way what is to be conceived of the suppression of the Templars.

**B**ETWIXT the two extremities of those that count these Templars either Malefactours or Martyrs, some find a middle way; whose verdict we will parcel into these severall particulars.

1. No doubt there were many novices and punies amongst them, newly admitted into their Order; which if at all, were little guiltie; for none can be sledge in wickednesse at their first hatching: To these much mercie belonged: The punishing

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of others might have been an admonition to them; and crueltie it was, where there were degrees of offenses, to inflict the same punishment, and to put all of them to death.

2. Surely many of them were most hainous offenders. Not to speak what they deserved from God (who needeth not pick a quarrel with man, but alwayes hath a just controversie with him) they are accounted notorious transgressours of humane laws: yet perchance if the same candle had been lighted to search, as much dust and dirt might have been found in other Orders.

3. They are \* conceived in generall to be guiltlesse and innocent from those damnable finnes wherewith they were charged: Which hainous offenses were laid against them, either because men out of modestie and holy horror should be ashamed and afraid to dive deep in searching the ground-work and bottome of these accusations, but rather take them to be true on the credit of the accusers; or that the world might the more easily be induced to beleve the crimes objected to be true, as conceiving otherwise none would be so devilish as to lay such devilish offenses to their charge; or lastly, if the crimes were not beleaved in the totall summe, yet if credited in some competent portion, the least particular should be enough to do the deed, and to make them odious in the world.

4. The chief cause of their ruine was their extraordinary wealth: They were feared of many, envied of more, loved of none. As Naboths vineyard was the chiefest ground for his blasphemie; and as in England, \* Cornwall Lord Fanhop said merrily, That not he, but his stately house at Amphill in Bedfordshire, was guiltie of high treason: so certainly their wealth was the principall evidence against them, and cause of their overthrow. It is quarrel and cause enough, to bring a sheep that is fat to the shambles. We may beleve King Philip would never have took away their lives if he might have took their lands without putting them to death: but the mischief was, he could not get the hony unlesse he burnt the bees.

Some will say, The Hospitallers had great, yea, greater revenues, nineteen thousand Mannors to the Templars nine thousand; yet none envied their wealth. It is true: but then they busied themselves in defending of Christendome, maintaining the Island of Rhodes against the Turks, as the Teutonicke order defended Spruce-land against the Tartarian; the world therefore never grudged them great wages who did good work. These were accounted necessarie members of Christendome, the Templars esteemed but a superfluous wenne; they lay at rack and manger and did nothing: who had they betook themselves to any honourable employment, to take the

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\* Wispertens.  
Paralip. fol.  
368.  
Antoninus,  
tit. 21. cap. 1.  
§. 3.

\* Cambdens  
Brit. in Bed-  
fordshire.

Turks to task either in Europe or Asia, their happinesse had been lesse repined at, and their overthrow more lamented. And certain it is, that this their idlenesse disposed them for other vices, as standing waters are most subject to putrifie.

I heare one \*bird sing a different note from all the rest in the wood; namely, that what specious shews soever were pretended, the true cause of their ruine was, that they began to desert the Pope and adhere to the Emperour. If this was true, no doubt they were deeply guiltie, and deserved the hard measure they suffered. Sure I am, how-ever at this time they might turn edge, they had formerly been true blades for his Holinesse.

All Europe followed the copie that France had set them. Here in England King Edward the second of that name, suppressed the Order, and put them to death; So by vertue of a writ sent from him to Sir John Wogan, Lord chief Justice in Ireland, were they served there; and such was the secrecie of the contrivance of the businesse, that the storm fell upon them before they saw it, and all crannies were so closely stopped that none could steal a glimpse of the mischief intended against them.

In Germanie they found some mercie and milder dealing: for \* Hugh Wildgrave coming with twenty of his Order all in armour into a Councel of Dutch Bishops, who intended to execute the sentence of the Pope upon them, there protested his innocencie, and appealed to the next Pope who should succeed Clement, as to his competent judge. Hereupon their lives were spared; onely they were forced to renounce the name of Templars, and to enter themselves into other Orders; chiefly of Hospitallers and Teutonicks, on whom their lands were bestowed. We will conclude all with that resolution of a \* brace of Spanish writers, who make this epilogue to this wofull tragedie; Concerning these Templars, whether they were guiltie or not, let us suspend our censure till the day of judgement; and then and no sooner shall we certainly be informed therein.

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\* Joach. Stephanus, De jurisdictione, lib. 1. cap. 10 §. 18.

\* Hospin. De orig. Mon. cap. 18. fol. 193.

\* Hieronimo Romano, De la republica (brist. lib. 7. cap. 6. Et Pero Alexya, De la silva de varia lici on. lib. 2. cap. 5.

#### Chap. 4.

*Of the Teutonick Order; When they left Palestine, and on what conditions they were entertained in Prussia; Their Order at last dissolved.*

**F**requent mention hath been formerly made of the Teutonick Order, or that of Dutch Knights, who behaved them-

selves right valiantly clean through the Holy warre: And, which soundeth much to their honour, they cannot be touched either for treason or faction, but were both loyall and peaceable in the whole service.

But at last they perceived, that by the course of the cards they must needs rise losers if they continued the warre in the Holy land, and even resolved to abandon it. It happened at the same time, that Conrade Duke of Mazovia offered them most honourable conditions; namely, the enjoying of Prussia, on condition they would defend it against the Infidels which annoyed it. Indeed the *fratres gladiferi*, or sword-bearing brothers, brave slashing lads, undertook that task: but finding either their arms too weak, or swords too blunt to strike through their enemies, they employed the aid of, and conjoynd themselves to this Teutonick Order. Hereupon, in the yeare of our Lord 1239, Hermannus de Saltza, fourth Master of these Dutch Knights, came with most of his Order into Prussia; yet so that he left a competent number of them still in Palestine, which continued and did good service there even to the taking of Ptolemais.

But the greater number of these Dutch Knights, in Prussia did knight-service against the Tartarians, and were Christendomes best bank against the inundations of those barbarous people. By their endeavours the Prussians, which before were but heathen-Christians, were wholly converted; many a brave citie builded, specially Marienburg, where formerly a great oak stood; (who would think so many beautifull buildings would spring out of the root of one tree?) and those countreys of Prussia and Livonia, which formerly were the course list, are now become the rich fringe of Europe.

At last the Prussians grew weary of the tyrannous oppression of those Dutch Knights (as appeareth by the grievances they presented) and applied themselves to Casimire King of Poland. He took to task Lewis Erlinsuse the Master of their Order; and so ordered him, that whereas before he pleaded himself to be a free Prince of the Empire, hereafter he should acknowledge the King of Poland for his Lord and Master. The successours to this Lewis fretted against this agreement, as prejudiciall to them: They could do no lesse then complain, and could do little more; for the King of Poland in spite of their resistance held them to their agreements.

Albert of the house of Brandenburg was the last grand Master of this Order, and first Duke of Prussia. He brake the vow of their Order, losing his virginity to keep his chasticity, and married Dorothe daughter to the King of Denmark. The other Teutonicks protested against him, and chose Gualther

ther Croneberg in his room: Yea, Albert was proscribed in a Diet in Germanie, and his goods confiscated, but the proscription never executed, the Emperour of Germanie being the same time employed in matters of greater moment which more nearly concerned himself. And thus in this Albert, for ought we can find to the contrarie, the Teutonic Order had its end, and was quite dissolved.

Anno  
Dom.  
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## Chap. 5.

*The severall sittings of the Knights-Hospitallers, from Cyprus, by Rhodes, Nice, Syracuse, to Malta.*

WE must now wait on the Hospitallers to their lodgings, and we have done. We left them driven from Ptolemais, and landed at Cyprus; where King Henry courteously entertained them. But a friends house is no home: Hence therefore they were conveyed to their severall Alberges in Europe.

But such active spirits could not long be idle, such running streams would not end in a standing pond. Wherefore they used all their own strength, and improved their interest with all their benefactors, to furnish out a fleet: Which done, under Fulk de Vilderet their grand Master they wonne the Island of Rhodes from the Turks eighteen yeares after Ptolemais was lost, and there seated themselves.

Besides Rhodes, they also enjoyed these five adjacent Islands, saith my Authour, Nicoria; Episcopia, Iolli, Limonia, and Sirana; places so small, that consulting with maps will not find them out: enough almost to make us think with Tertullian of Delos, that once there were such Islands, which at this day are quite vanished away.

Two hundred and fourteen yeares, to the terror of the Turks, comfort of the Christians, and their own immortall fame, they maintained this Island, and secured the seas for the passage of Pilgrimes to Jerusalem: till at last in the yeare 1523, after six moneths siege they surrendered the citie to their own honour, and shame of other Christians who sent them no succour in season.

Yet changing their place they kept their resolution to be honourably employed. Hence they sailed to Nice in Piemont, a citie lying opposite to Africa, from whence the Moores and Saracens much infested Christendome. Wherefore Charles Duke of Savoy bestowed that citie upon them to defend it;

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counting the courtesie rather done to him then by him, that they would accept it.

Afterwards, they perceived it was more needfull to stop the Turks invasions then their pillagings: They had lately wonne Buda, and (as it was thought) would quickly stride over the Adriatick sea, and have at Italie. Wherefore the Hospitallers left Nice, and planted themselves at Syracuse in Sicilie: Where they right valiantly behaved themselves in defending that countrey.

But Charles the fifth, a politick Prince, though he saw their help was usefull, yet desired not much to have them live in his own countrey. He liked their neighbourhood better then their presence, to have them rather neare then in his Kingdome. Wherefore he appointed them the Island of Malta to keep for themselves, their grand Master onely paying yearly to the King of Spain a \* Falcon in acknowledgement they held it from him. Loth were the Hospitallers to leave Sicilie, that Paradise of pleasure, and went very unwillingly from it.

Malta is an Island in the mid-land-sea, seated betwixt Europe and Africa, as if it meant to escape out of both as being in neither. Here S. Paul suffered shipwrack, when the viper stung him not, but the men did, \* condemning him for a murderer. And here the Hospitallers seated themselves, and are the bulwark of Christendome to this day, giving daily evident proof of their courage. But their master-piece was in the yeare 1565, when they courageously defended the citie of Malta besieged by Soliman: When he discharged severntie eight thousand bullets (some of them seven spans in compasse) against it, big enough not onely to overthrow walls but overturn mountains, yet notwithstanding they held out valiantly five moneths; and at last forced the Turk to depart.

These Knights of Malta are at this day a good bridle to Tunis and Algiers. I am informed by a good \* friend (who hath spent much yet lost no time in those parts) that these Knights are bound by vow not to flie from the Turks, though one man or one galley to foure (half which ods Hercules himself durst not venture on;) but if there be five to one, it is interpreted wisdom not cowardinesse, to make away from them: Also if a Christian ship wherein there is a Knight of Malta take a Turkish ship, that Knight is bound by his Order first to go aboard to enter it. The grand Master of this Order hath a great command, and is highly esteemed of; insomuch that the \* authour of the Catalogue of the glory of the world, beleeveeth he is to take place next to absolute Kings, above all other temporall Princes, even above Kings subject to the Empire. Sure he meaneth, if they will give it him; otherwise it

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seemeth

\* Hospit. De  
orig. Mon.  
cap. 17. fol.  
190.

\* Acts 28.4.

\* Mr. Gr.  
Gibbs of  
S. Perrot,  
Dorset.

\* Cassanovus,  
part. 9. consi-  
derat. 4.

seemeth improper that the alms-man should take place of his benefactors. Yet the Lord Prior of the Hospitallers in England was chief Baron of the Realm, and had precedencie of all other Lords: and here his Order flourished with great pomp till their finall period; which I now come to relate.

Anno  
Dom.  
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Chap. 6.

*The Hospitallers in England stoutly withstand three severall assaults, which overthrew all other Religious foundations.*

**T**He suppression of the Hospitallers in England deserveth especiall notice, because the manner thereof was different from the dissolving of other Religious houses; for manfully they stood it out to the last, in despite of severall assaults.

1. Cardinall Wolsey, by leave from the Pope, suppressed certain small houses of little value, therewithall to endow his Colledges in Oxford and Ipswich. He first shewed Religious places were mortall, which hitherto had flourished in a seeming eternitie. This leading case of Wolseys did pick the mortar out of all the Abbey-walls in England, and made a breach in their strongest gate-houses, teaching covetousnesse (an apt scholar) a readie way to assault them: (For it is the dedication not the value of the thing dedicated, stampeth a character of sacrednesse upon it.) And King Henry the eighth concluded, if the Cardinall might eat up the lean Covents, he himself might feed on the fat ones; without danger of a sacrilegious surfet. True it is, Wolsey not wholly but in part alienated the lands of these peticie houses, reserving them still to the generall end of pious uses: But the King followed this pattern so farre as it was for his purpose, and neglected the rest.

\* Statut. in  
27<sup>o</sup> Henr. viii.

2. For not long after, the \* Parliament granted him all Religious houses of and under the value of two hundred pounds yearly: and it was thought, that above ten thousand persons, masters and servants, lost their livelihoods by the demolishing of them. And for an introduction to the suppression of all the residue, he had a strait watch set upon them, and the Regulars therein tied to a strict and punctuall observation of their orders without any relaxation of the least libertie; inso much that many did quickly un-nunne and disfriar themselves, whose

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fides formerly used to go loose, were soon galled with strait lacing.

Anno  
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3. Then followed the grand dissolution or judgement-day on the world of Abbeyes remaining; which of what value soever were seised into the Kings hands. The Lord Cromwell, one of excellent parts but mean parentage, came from the forge to be the hammer to maul all Abbeyes. Whose magnificent ruines may lesseon the beholders, That it is not the firmnesse of the stone nor fastnesse of the mortar maketh strong walls, but the integritie of the inhabitants. For indeed foul matters were proved against some of them, as Sodomie and much uncleannesse: Whereupon unwillingly willing, they resigned their goods and persons to the Kings mercie. But the Knights-Hospitallers (whose chief mansion was at St. Johns, nigh London) being Gentlemen and souldiers of ancient families and high spirits, would not be brought to present the King such puling petitions and publick recognitions of their errours as other Orders had done. They complained it was a false consequence, as farre from charitie as logick, from the induction of some particular delinquents to inferre the guiltinesse of all Religious persons. Wherefore like stout fellows they opposed any that thought to enrich themselves with their ample revenues, and stood on their own defense and justification.

Chap. 7.

*The Hospitallers at last got on an advantage and suppressed.*

**B**Ut Barnabe's day it self hath a night; and this long-lived Order, which in England went over the graves of all others, came at last to its own.

They were suffered to have rope enough, till they had haltered themselves in a *Præmanire*: For they still continued their obedience to the \* Pope, contrary to their allegiance, whose usurped authoritie was banished out of the land, and so (though their lives otherwise could not be impeached for any viciounesse) they were brought within the compasse of the law. The case thus standing, their deare friends perswaded them to submit to the Kings mercie, and not to capitulate with him on conditions, nor to stop his favour by their own obstinacie, but yeeld whilst as yet terms honest and honourable would be freely given them: That such was the irresistiblenesse of

\* Parlam.  
Anno 32<sup>o</sup>.  
Henr. viii.

H h 2 the



240 the Kings spirit, that like a torrent it would bear down any thing which stood betwixt him and his desires; If his anger were once inflamed, nothing but their blood could quench it: Let them not flatter themselves into their own ruine, by relying on the aid of their friends at home, who would not substitute their own necks to save theirs from the ax; nor by hoping for help from forrein parts, who could send them no seasonable succour.

This counsel harsh at first, grew tunable in the eares of the Hospitallers; so that contented rather to exchange their clothes for worse then to be quite stript, they resigned all into the Kings hands. He allowed to S<sup>r</sup> William Weston Lord Prior of the Order, an annuall pension of one thousand pounds: But he received never a penny thereof, but dyed \* instantly, struck to the heart when he first heard of the dissolution of his Priory: and lieth buried in the Chancell of Clarkenwell, with the portraiture of a dead man lying on his shroud, the most artificially cut in stone (saith my \* Authour) that ever man beheld. Others had rent assigned them of 200<sup>l</sup>, 100<sup>l</sup>, 80<sup>l</sup>, 60<sup>l</sup>, 50<sup>l</sup>, 20<sup>l</sup>, 10<sup>l</sup>, according to their severall qualities and deserts.

At the same time jousts and tournaments were held at Westminster: Wherein the challengers against all comers, were, S<sup>r</sup> John Dudley, S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Seymore, S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Poinings, S<sup>r</sup> George Carew, Knights; Antonie Kingstone, and Richard Cromwell, Esquires: To each of whom for reward of their valour, the King gave a hundred marks of yearly revenues, and a house to dwell in, to them and their heirs, out of the lands belonging to these Hospitallers. And at this time, many had Danae's happinesse, to have golden showres rained into their bosomes.

These Abbey-lands, though skittish mares to some, have given good milk to others: Which is produced as an argument, That if they prove unsuccessfull to any, it is the users default, no inherencie of a curse in the things themselves. But let one keep an exact Register of lands, and mark their motions, how they ebbe and flow betwixt buyers and sellers, and surely he will say with the Poet, *Οὐδὲν ἀνὰ χρόνον*. And this is most sure; Let land be held in never so good a tenure, it will never be held by an unthrift.

The Hospitallers Priory-church was preserved from down-pulling all the dayes of King Henry the eighth: but in the third year of King Edward the sixth, with the bell-towre (a piece of curious workmanship, graven, gilt, and enamelled) it was undermined and blown up with gunpowder, and the stone employed in building the Lord Protectours house in the Strand.

Thus

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1540  
May  
7.

\* *Weston*,  
*Chron. pag.*  
114.

\* *Idem*, *pag.*  
430.

*Straw.*

Anno  
Dom.  
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Thus as chirurgeons in cutting off a gangrened leg, alwayes cut it off above the joynt, even where the flesh is whole and found: so (belike for fear of further infection) to banish Monkerie for ever, they rased the structures and harmlesse buildings of Pories, which otherwise in themselves were void of any offense. They feared if Abbeyes were onely left in a swoond, the Pope would soon get hot water to recover them: To prevent which, they killed them and killed them again, overturning the very foundations of the houses, infringing, altering and transferring the lands, that they might never be reduced to their old proprietie. Some outrages were committed in the manner of these dissolutions: Many manuscripts, guiltie of no other superstition then red letters in the front, were condemned to the fire: and here a principall key of antiquitie was lost, to the great prejudice of posteritie. But in sudden alterations it is not to be expected that all things be done by the square and compasse.

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## Chap. 8.

*Queen Mary setteth up the Hospitallers again;  
They are again deposed by Queen Elisabeth.*

Queen Mary (a Princeesse more zealous then politick) attempted to restore Abbeyes to their pristine estate and former glory: And though certain of her counsellors objected, that the state of her Kingdome and dignitie thereof and her Crown imperiall could not honourably be furnished and maintained without the possession of Abbey-land; yet she \* frankly restored, resigned, and confirmed by Parliament all ecclesiasticall revenues which by the authoritie of that high court in the dayes of her Father were annexed to the Crown, protesting she set more by her salvation, then by ten kingdomes.

But the Nobilitie followed not her example: They had eaten up the Abbey-lands, and now after twentie yeares possession digested and turned them into good blood in their estates: they were loth therefore to emptie their veins again; and the forwardest Romanist was backward enough in this costly piece of devotion.

How-ever, out of her own liberalitie, she set up two or three bankrupt Covents, as Sion and Westminster, and gave them stock to trade with. The Knights also of S. John of Jerusalem she resealed in their place; and S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Tresham of

H h 3

Rushton

\* *Parlam.*  
*Anno 2<sup>o</sup> &*  
*3<sup>o</sup> Phil. &*  
*Marie.*

242 Rushton in Northamptonshire was the first and last Lord Prior after their restitution: For their nests were plucked down before they were warm in them, by the coming in of Queen Elisabeth.

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To conclude; In the founders of Religious houses were some good intents mixt with superstitious ends; amongst the Religious persons themselves, some pietie, more loosenesse and lazinesse; in the confounders of those houses, some detestation of the vices of Friars, more desire of the wealth of Friaries; in God, all just, all righteous, in permitting the badnesse and causing the destruction of these numerous Fraternities.

### Chap. 9.

#### *Observations on the Holy warre; The horrible superstition therein.*

WE have finished the story of the Holy warre: And now I conceive my indentures are cancelled, and I discharged from the strict service and ties of an Historian; so that it may be lawfull for me to take more libertie, and to make some observations on what hath been past.

Before I go further, I must deplore the worlds losse of that worthy work which the Lord Verulam left unfinished, concerning the Holy warre; an excellent piece, and alas! it is but a piece: so that in a pardonable discontent we may almost wish that either it had been more, wholly to have satisfied our hunger, or lesse, not at all to have raised our appetite. It was begun not in an historicall but in a politick way, not reporting the Holy warre past with the Turks but advising how to manage it in the future. And no doubt if he had perfected the work, it would have proved worthy the Authour: But since, any have been deterred from finishing the same, as ashamed to adde mud-walls and a thatched roof to so fair a foundation of hewen and polished stone.

From that Authour we may borrow this distinction, That three things are necessarie to make an invasive warre lawfull; the lawfulnessse of the jurisdiction, the merit of the cause, and the orderly and lawfull prosecution of the cause. Let us apply to our present purpose in this Holy warre: For the first two, Whether the jurisdiction the Christians pretended over the Turks dominions was lawfull or not; and, Whether this warre was not onely *opera* but *vita pretium*, worth the losing so many lives; we referre the Reader to what hath

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hath been said in the \* first book. Onely it will not be amisse, to adde a storie or two out of an \* Authour of good account. When Charles the sixth was King of France, the Duke of Burbant sailed over into Africa with a great armie, there to fight against the Saracens. The Saracen Prince sent an herald to know of him the cause of his coming: The Duke answered, it was to revenge the death of Christ the Sonne of God, and true Prophet, whom they had unjustly crucified. The Saracens sent back their messenger again to demonstrate their innocencie, how they were not Saracens but Jews which put Christ to death, and therefore that the Christians (if posteritie should be punished for their predeceffours fault) should rather revenge themselves on the Jews which lived amongst them.

\* Another relateth, that in the yeare of our Lord 1453, the great Turk sent a letter to the Pope, advertising him how he and his Turkish nation were not descended from the Jews, but from the Trojans, from whom also the Italians derive their pedegree, and so would prove himself a-kinne to his Holinesse. Moreover he added, that it was both his and their dutie to repair the ruines of Troy, and to revenge the death of their great grand-father Hector upon the Grecians; to which end, the Turk said he had already conquered a great part of Greece. As for Christ, he acknowledged him to have been a noble Prophet, and to have been crucified of the Jews, against whom the Christians might seek their remedie. These two stories I thought good to insert, because though of later date, and since the Holy warre in Palestine was ended, yet they have some reference thereunto, because some make that our quarrel to the Turks.

But grant the Christians right to the Turks lands to be lawfull, and the cause in it self enough: deserving to ground a warre upon: yet in the prosecuting and managing thereof, many not onely veniall errors but unexcusable faults were committed; no doubt, the cause of the ill successe.

To omit the book called the Office of our Lady, made at the beginning of this warre to procure her favourable assistance in it (a little manual, but full of blasphemies in *folie*, thrusting her with importunate superstitions into Gods throne, and forcing on her the glory of her Maker,) superstition not onely tainted the mind, but rotted the core of this whole action. Indeed most of the portage of that age tasted of that wild gourd. Yet farre be it from us to condemn all their works to be drosse, because debased and allayed with superstitious intents: No doubt there was a mixture of much good metall in them, which God the good refiner knoweth how to sever, and then

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\* Chap. 9, and  
10.  
\* Froissard,  
lib. 4 cap. 18,  
19.

\* Monstrell.  
lib. 3. cap. 68.

then will crown and reward. But here we must distinguish betwixt those deeds which have some superstition in them, and those which in their nature are wholly superstitious, such as this Voyage of people to Palestine was. For what opinion had they of themselves herein, who thought that by dying in this warre, they did make Christ amends for his death: as one saith: Which if but a rhetorical flourish, yet doth hyperbolize into blasphemie. Yea, it was their very judgement, that hereby they did both merit and supererogate; and by dying for the Crosse, crosse the score of their own sinnes and score up God for their debtour. But this fieth high, and therefore we leave it for others to follow. Let us look upon Pilgrimages in generall, and we shall find Pilgrimes wandering not so farre from their own countrey as from the judgement of the ancient Fathers.

We will leave our armie at home, and onely bring forth our champion: Heare what \* Gregorie Nyssene saith, who lived in the fourth Centurie, in which time voluntary Pilgrimages first began; though before there were necessarie Pilgrimages, forced to wander from their countrey by persecution. Where, saith he, our Lord pronounceth men blessed, he reckoneth not going to Jerusalem to be amongst those good deeds which direct to happinesse. And afterwards, speaking of the going of single-women in those long travels; A woman, saith he, cannot go such long journeys without a man to conduct her; and then whatsoever we may suppose, whether she hireth a stranger or hath a friend to wait on her, on neither side can she escape reproof, and keep the law of continencie. Moreover; If there were more Divine grace in the places of Jerusalem, sinne would not be so frequent and customarie amongst those that live there: Now there is no kind of uncleannesse which there they dare not commit; malice, adultery, thefts, idolatrie, poysonings, envies and slaughters. But you will say unto me, If it be not worth the pains, why then did you go to Jerusalem? Let them heare therefore how I defend my self: I was appointed to go into Arabia to an holy Councel, held for the reforming of that Church: and Arabia being neare to Jerusalem, I promised those that went with me, that I would go to Jerusalem to discourse with them which were presidents of the churches there; where matters were in a very troubled state, and they wanted one to be a mediator in their discords. We knew that Christ was a man born of a Virgin, before we saw Bethlehem; we beleevd his resurrection from death, before we saw his sepulchre; we confessed his ascension into heaven, before we saw mount Olivet: But we got so much profit by our journey, that by comparing them,

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\* Epist. seu  
Orat. de iis  
qui adeunt  
Hierosol.  
Edit. Gr. Lat.  
Parisus, 1615.

Anno  
Dom.  
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them, we found \* our own more holy then those outward things. Wherefore you that fear God, praise him in what place you are. Change of place maketh not God nearer unto us: wheresoever thou art, God will come to thee, if the Inne of thy soul be found such, as the Lord may dwell and walk in thee, &c.

A patrone of Pilgrimages not able to void the blow yet willing to break the stroke of so pregnant and plain a testimony, thus seeketh to ward it; That indeed Pilgrimages are unfitting for women, yet fitting for men. But sure God never appointed such means to heighten devotion necessary thereunto, whereof the half of mankind (all women) are by their very creation made incapable.

Secondly, he pleadeth, That it is lawfull for secular and laymen to go on Pilgrimages, but not for Friars, who lived reclus in their cells, out of which they were not to come: and against such (saith he) is Nyssens speech directed. But then, I pray, what was Peter, the leader of this long dance, but an Hermite: and (if I mistake not) his profession was the very dungeon of the Monasticall prison, the strictest and severest of all other Orders. And though there were not so many cowls as helmets in this warre, yet alwayes was the Holy armie well stocked with such catell: So that on all sides it is confessed that the Pilgrimages of such persons were utterly unlawfull.

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\* Τὰς εὐσεβείας  
τῶν ἱερῶν πλὴν  
ἐνδοξίας.

## Chap. 10.

## Of superstition in miracles in the Holy warre, ranked into foure sorts.

Besides superstition inherent in this Holy warre, there was also superstition appendant or annexed thereunto, in that it was the fruitfull mother of many feigned miracles. Hitherto we have refrained to scatter over our storie with them; it will not be amisse now to shovel up some of them in a heap.

\* One Peter (not the Hermite) found out the lance where-with Christ was pierced: & to approve the truth thereof against some who questioned him herein, on Palm-sunday taking the lance in his hand, he walked through a mightie fire without any harm: but it seemeth he was not his crafts-master, for he died soon after.

\* An image of our Lady brought from Jerusalem; but set up

\* M. Paris.  
in Anno 1099.

\* Idem.

up neare Damascus, began by degrees to be clothed with flesh, and to put forth breasts of flesh; out of which a liquour did constantly flow: Which liquour the Templars carried home to their houses, and distributed it to the Pilgrimes which came to them, that they might report the honour thereof through the whole world.

\* M. Paris.

\* A Sultan of Damascus who had but one eye, chanced to lose the other, and so became stark-blind; when coming devoutly to this image, though he was a Pagan, having faith in God, and confidence therein, he perfectly was restored to his sight.

\* Regt. Houtden, in anno 1187.

Infinite are the sholes of miracles done by Christs Crosse in Jerusalem; inso much that my \* Authour blamed the Bishop of Acon, who carried the Crosse in that battel wherein it was lost to the Turks, for wearing a corselet; and therefore (saith he) he was justly slain: because his weak faith relied on means, not on the miraculous protection thereof.

\* Nauclerus, Gen. 42.

When Conrade Landt-grave of Thuringia was inrolled in the Teutonic Order to go to the Holy warre, and received his benediction (as the fashion was) the \* Holy Ghost visibly descended upon him in the shape of fire. The said Conrade received of God as a boon for his valour in this service, the rare facultie, \* That by looking on any man he could tell whether or no he had committed a mortall sinne, yea, at first sight descrie their secret finnes.

\* Chron. Pruten.

But the last miracle of our Lady in Palestine is the Lady of all miracles; which was this: In the yeare 1291, when the Holy land was finally subdued by the Turks, the chamber at Nazareth wherein the Angel Gabriel saluted her with joyfull tidings, was wonderfully \* transported into Sclavonia. That country being unworthy of her divine presence, it was by the Angels carried over into Italic, anno 1294. That place also being infested with theeves and pirates, the Angels removed it to the little village of Loretto, where this Pilgrimage Chappel resteth it self at this day, and liketh her entertainment so well, it will travel no further.

\* Spondanus, in anno 1291.

But enough: for fools meat is unfavourie to the tast of the wise. I have transgressed already: two instances had been sufficient (as Noah preserved but two of all unclean creatures) the rest might be lost without losse, and safely be drowned in oblivion. How-ever, we may observe these millions of miracles are reducible to one of these foure ranks:

1. Falsely reported, never so much as seemingly done. Asia the theatre whereon they were acted, is at a great distance, and the miracles as farre from truth, as the place from us. And who knoweth not, when a lie is once set on foot, besides the

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first founders, it meeteth with many benefactors, who contribute their charitie thereunto.

2. Falsely done; inso much as at this day, they are \* sent amongst the Romanists. Who would not laugh to see the picture of a Saint weep? Where one devout Catholick listeth up his eyes, ten of their wiser sort wag their heads.

3. Truly done, but by the strength of nature. Suppose one desperately sick, a piece of the Crosse is applied to him, he recovereth; is this a miracle? Nothing lesse; how many thousands have made an escape after Death in a manner hath arrested them? As therefore it is sacriledge, to father Gods immediate works on naturall causes; so it is superstition, to intitle naturall events to be miraculous.

4. Many miracles were ascribed to Saints which were done by Satan. I know it will *non-plus* his power to work a true miracle; but I take the word at large: and indeed vulgar (not to say, humane) eyes are too dimme to discern betwixt things wonderfull and truly miraculous. Now Satan, the master-juggler needeth no wires or ginses to work with, being all ginnes himself; so transcendent is the activitie of a spirit. Nay, may not God give the Devil leave to go beyond himself; it being just with him, that those who will not have Truth their king and willingly obey it, should have Falshood their tyrant to whom their judgement should be captivated and enslaved.

\* Miracula, si pia utilitate aut necessitate careant, de facto suspecta sunt & rejectenda, Gesen.

## Chap. 11.

*The second grand error in prosecuting the Holy warre, being the Christians notorious breaking their faith with Infidels.*

NEXT unto Superstition, which was deeply inlayed in the Holy warre, we may make the Christians Truce-breaking with the Infidels the second cause of their ill successe. Yet never but once did they break promise with the Turks; which was (as I may say) a constant and continued faith-breaking, never keeping their word. To omit severall straining of the fi-news and enjoynting the bones of many a solemn peace, we will onely instance where the neck thereof was clearly broken a funder.

1. When Godfrey first won Jerusalem, pardon was proclaimed to all the Turks which yielded themselves, yet three dayes

after in cold blood, they were all, without difference of age or sex, put to the sword.

2. Almerick the first swore, effectually to assist the Saracens in driving the Turks out of Egypt; and soon after invaded Egypt, and warred upon the Turks against his promise. I know something he pretended herein to defend himself, but of no validity; and such plausible and curious wittie evasions to avoyd perjury, are but the tying of a most artificiall knot in the halter, therewith to strangle ones own conscience.

3. There was a peace concluded for some time betwixt King Guy and Saladin; which *non obstante*, Reinold of Castile robbed Saladines own mother: Whereupon followed the miserable overthrow of the Christians, and taking of Jerusalem.

4. Our Richard, at his departure from Palestine, made a firm peace for five yeares with Saladin, and it stood yet in force when Henry Duke of Saxonic coming with a great armie of new adventurers invaded the Turkish dominions,

5. Frederick the second, Emperour, made a truce of ten yeares with the Sultan of Babylon; and yet in despite thereof, Theobald King of Navarre foraged the countrey of Gaza, to the just overthrow of him and his armie.

6. Reinold Vice-roy of Palestine, in the name of Frederick the Emperour, and after him our Richard Earl of Cornwall, drew up a firm peace with the said Sultan; which was instantly disturbed and interrupted by the turbulent Templars.

7. Lastly, the Venetians, in the name of all Christian Princes, concluded a five yeares peace with Alpir the Mammaluke Prince of Egypt; yet some voluntaries in Ptolemais pillaged and robbed many Saracen merchants about the citie. But pardon them this last fault, we will promise they shall never do so any more in Palestine, hereupon losing all they had left there.

And how could Safetie it self save this people, and blesse this project so blackly blasted with perjury! As it is observed of tyrants, Where one goeth, ten are sent to the grave; so where one truce concluded with the Turks did naturally expire and determine, many were violently broken off. A sinne so repugnant to all morall honestie, so injurious to the quiet & peace of the world, so odious in it self, so scandalous to all men, To dissolve a league when confirmed by Oath (the strongest bond of conscience, the end of particular strife, the foulder of publick peace, the sole assurance of amitie betwixt divers nations, made here below, but inrolled in his high court whose glorious name doth signe it;) a sinne, I say, so hainous, that God cannot but most severely punish it. David asketh, *Who shall rest upon thy holy hill?* and answereth himself, *He that sweareth to his neighbour,*

*bound, and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hindrance.* No wonder then, though the Christians had no longer abidance in the Holy hill of Palestine (though this, I confesse, is but the bark of the text) driving that trade wherewith none ever thrived, the breaking of promises: Wherewith one may for a while fairly spread his train, but he will moult his feathers soon after.

## Chap. 12.

*Of the hindrances of the good successe in the Holy warre; whereof the Popes, and Emperours of Greece, were the two principall.*

SO much concerning those *lesa principia* in this Holy warre, Superstition and Perjury, which struck at the root of it. Come we now to consider many other hindrances, which abated the good successe thereof: Amongst these we will not be so hereticall as to denie the Popes Primacie; but account him the first cause of their ill successe. Such wounds as we find in his credit, we will neither widen nor close up; but even present them to the Reader as we found them. In foure respects he baned the Christians good speed in this warre:

1. He caused most of their truce-breaking with the Turks, urging men thereunto. Thus Pope Celestine drove on the Christians against the Turks, whilest as yet the peace our Richard concluded with them was not expired; and so many other times also. For alas! this was nothing with his Holiness; who sitting in the temple of God, so farre advanceth himself above God, as to dispense with oathes made sacred by the most holy and high name of God; and professing himself the sole Umpire and Peace-maker of the world, doth cut asunder those onely sinews which hold peace together.

2. In that twice the Kingdome of Jerusalem was offered to the Christians, and the Popes Legates would not suffer them to accept it: (No doubt, by instructions from their Master; this being to be presumed on, That those his absolute creatures altered not a tittle, but went according to the copie that was set them) Once anno 1219; when Pelagius the Legate refused the free offer of Melechala: And the second time, some thirtie yeares after, when the same bountifull profer was refused by Odo the Popes Legate: For when the same Melechala again offered the free resignation of the whole Kingdome of Jerusalem,

\* M. Paris.  
pag. 1047.  
Huic pacis  
formæ ex Pa-  
pæ mandato  
rebellis erat  
Legatus, &  
frontosus con-  
tradicens, &c.

usalem, whereby the same day great quietness had entred into all Christendome, with the end of much bloodshed and miserie; the Legate \* *frontosus contradicens*, would in no wise receive the conditions offered.

3. Frederick the second, Emperour, was possessed of it, when the Pope molested him, and stirred up the Templars against him, as so many needles to prick him when he was to sit down on the throne.

4. By diverting the Pilgrimes, and over-titling his own quarrels to be Gods cause; nothing being more common with him, then to employ those armies which were levied for the Holy warre, in subduing the Albingenses and many others of his private enemies.

By all these it plainly appeareth, That what fair shews soever his Holiness made, calling Councils, appointing Legates, providing preachers, proclaiming pardons, to advance this warre; yet in very deed, he neither intended nor desired that the Christians should make a final conquest of Palestine, but be employed in continuall conquering it. He would have this warre go on *cum decemte pausa*; fair and softly: let the Christians now beat the Turks, and then the Turks beat the Christians; and so let them take their turns, whilst his private profit went on. For (as we touched before) to this warre the Pope condemned all dangerous persons (especially the Emperours of Germanie) to be there employed. As little children are often set to school, not so much to learn, as to keep them out of harms way at home: so this carefull Father sent many of his children to the Holy warre, not for any good he knew they would either do or get there, but it would keep them from worse doing; which otherwise would have been paddling in this puddle, raking in that channel, stirring up questions and controversies unfavourie in the nostrils of his Holiness, and perchance falling into the fire of discord and dissension against their own Father. Indeed at last this warre ended it self in despite of the Pope: Who no doubt would have driven this web (weaving and unweaving it, Penelope-like) much longer if he could: yet he digested more patiently the ending thereof, because the net might be taken away when the fish was already caught, and the warre spared now the German Emperours strength thereby was sufficiently abated in Italie.

Much also this warre increased the *intrado* of the Popes revenues. Some say, Purgatory-fire heateth his kitchen: they may adde, the Holy warre filled his pot, if not paid for all his second course. It is land enough, to have the office of collecting the contributions of all Christendome given to this warre.

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warre. So much for his great receipts hereby. And as for what he expended, not too farre in the point. If the Pope (saith \* their law) thrusteth thousands of souls into Hell, none may say to him, Why dost thou so? It is presumption then to make him answer for money, who is not accountable for men.

With the Pope let the Emperours of Greece their Jealousie go, as the second bane of the Christians successe in this warre. These Emperours tormented themselves in seeking that they would have been loth to find, the treacherie of the Latines; and therefore to begin first, used them with all treacherie: Whereof, largely \* formerly. And surely, though a cautious circumspection be commendable in Princes; yet in such over-fear, they were no lesse injurious to themselves then to the western Pilgrimes. Yea generally, suspitiousness is as great an enemy to wisdom, as too much credulitie; it doing oftentimes as hurtfull wrong to friends, as the other doth receive wrongfull hurt from dissemblers.

\* Dist. 40. can.  
Si Papa suz  
& fraternæ  
salutis negli-  
gens.

\* Book 2.  
chap. 9. 17.

## Chap. 13.

*The third hindrance, the Equalitie of the undertakers; the fourth, the Length of the journey.*

THE next cause of their ill successe was the discord arising from the partie of the Princes which undertook this voyage. Many of them could abide no equal; all, no superiour: so that they had no chief, or rather, were all chiefs: The swarm wanted a master-Bee, a supreme commander, who should war them all into obedience. The German Emperour (though above all) came but seldome, and was not constant amongst them: The King of Jerusalem (especially in the declining of the State) was rather sleighted then feared: The Popes Legate usurped a superiority, but was never willingly nor generally obeyed. Surely smaller forces being united under one command would have been more effectual in proof (though not so promising in opinion and fame) then these great armies variously compounded by associations and leagues, and of the confluence of Princes otherwise uncurring in their severall courses.

Livie writing of that great battel (the criticall day of the worlds Empire) betwixt Hannibal & Scipio, \* It is small, saith he, to speak of, yet of much moment in the matter it self, that when the

\* Lib. 30.

the armies joynd, the shouting of the Romanes was farre more great and terrible, as being all of one voice from the same nation; whilst Hannibals souldiers voices were different and disagreeing, as consisting of severall languages. If such a toy be considerable, and differing in tongues lesseneth the terribleness in an armie; how doth dissenting in hearts and affections abate the force thereof? and what advantage had the united Turks against divided Christian Princes which managed this warre? Had the emulation betwixt those equall Princes onely been such as is the spurre of vertue, farre from enemie and hatefull contention, striving with good deserts to outstrip those who by the same means sought to attain to the like end; had it been mixed with love in regard of the affinity of their affections and sympathie of their desires, not seeking the ruine of their competitor but succouring him in danger; then such *simulacres* had been both honourable and useful to the advancing of the Holy cause: But on the other side, their affections were so violent, and dispositions so crooked, that emulation in them boyled to hatred, that to malice, which rested better satisfied with the miserable end of their opposite partner, then with any trophies deservedly erected to their own honour. And herein the warres betwixt the Venetians and Genoans in Syria are too pregnant an instance.

The length of the journey succeedeth as the fourth impediment. There needed no other hindrance to this voyage then the voyage, the way was so long. In sensation, the object must not be over-distant from the sense; otherwise Lynceus eyes may see nothing: So it is requisite in warlike adventures, that the work be not too farre from the undertakers. Indeed the Romanes conquered countreys farre from home: but the lands betwixt them were their own, wherein they refreshed themselves; and well may one lift a great weight at arms end if he hath a rest to stay his elbow on. So though Spain hath subdued much in the Indies, yet there they met with none or naked resistance. It fared not thus with the Christians in this warre: By the tediousness of the journey their strength was exhausted; they ranne dregs when first they were broched in Syria, and as it were scattered their powder in presenting, before they came to discharge.

Frederick Barbarossa wrote a braving letter to Saladine, reckoning up the severall nations in Europe under his command, and boasting what an armie of them he would bring into Syria. \* Saladine answered him, That he also ruled over as many peoples, and told him, that there was no sea which hindred his men from coming quickly together; whereas, faith he, you have a great sea, over which with pains and dan-

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ger you must passe before you can bring your men hither. Besides, if the Christians shaped their journey by land, then their miseries in Hungarie, Grecia, and Asia the lesse, made their land-journey more tedious and troublesome then if they had gone by sea.

## Chap. 14.

*The fifth impediment, Clergie-men being Captains.*

THAT Prelates and Clergie-men were often Generalls in this action (as Peter the Hermite, Pelagius the Cardinal, and many others) was another cause of their ill success: For allow them able in their own way, for matter of learning, yet were they insufficient to manage martiall affairs. Many who in England have learned the French tongue, and afterwards have gone over into France, have found themselves both deaf and dumbe in effect, neither hearing to understand nor speaking to be understood: They in like manner who frame to themselves in their studies a model of leading an armie, find it as full of errors as rules when it cometh to be applied; and a measure of warre taken by book, falleth out either too long or too short, when brought into the field to be used.

I have heard a storie of a great map-monger, who undertook to travel over England by help of his maps, without asking the least direction of any he met. Long he had not ridden but he met with a *non plus ultra*, a deep unpassable gullet of water, without bridge, ford, or ferry. This water was as unknown to his Camdens or Speeds maps as to himself; because it was neither body nor branch of any constant river or brook (such as onely are visible in maps) but an *ex-tempore* water, flowing from the snow which melted on hills. Worse unexpected accidents surprize those who conceive themselves to have conned all martiall maxims out of Authours, and warrant their skill in warre against all events out of their great readings; when on the sudden some unworited occurrent taketh them unprovided, standing amazed till destruction seisseth on them.

Indeed, sometimes such unlooked-for chances arrest even the best and most experienced Generalls, which have long been acquainted with warre; nor are they priviledged by all their experience from such casualties, nor are they so omniscient but that their skill may be posed therewith; a minute shewing sometimes what an age hath not seen before: But

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then such aged commanders have this advantage, that finding themselves at a fault, they can soonest know where to beat about and recover it.

Add to the inability, the incongruities of Prelates going to fight. True, in defensive warres necessity is their sufficient dispensation; but otherwise it is improper. In the battel against Amalek, Josua fought; Moses prayed; the Levites bare the ark, no office of command in the Camp. And better it had been that Cardinall Columna had been at his beads, or in his bed, or any where else, then in the camp in Egypt; where by his indiscreet counsel he brought all the lives of the Christians into danger.

## Chap. 15.

*The sixth hindrance, the Diversitie of the climate disagreeing with the bodies of Europe; And what weakeneth Northern men going Southward.*

**N**OW followeth the Diversitie of the climate, which caused the death of many thousands of the Christians, sweeping them away with horrible plagues and other diseases. For even as men when they come into a new Corporation, must pay their fees before they can be freemen thereof and set up trading therein; so it alwayes cost the Christians of Europe a dangerous sickness at least, before they could be well acquainted with the aire and climate of Palestine.

Amongst other diseases the Leprosie was one epidemical infection which tainted the Pilgrimes coming thither. This (though most rife in our Saviours time, God so ordering it that Judea was sickest while her Physician was nearest) at this time of the Holy warre was very dangerous. Hence was it brought over into England (never before known in this Island) and many Lazar-houses erected for the relief of those infected therewith: Their chief house was at Burton-lazars in Leicestershire. I say not, as this disease began with the Holy warre in England, so it ended with it: Sure such hath been Gods goodnesse, that few at this day are afflicted therewith; and the leprosie of Leprosie, I mean the contagion thereof, in this cold countrey is much abated.

Many other sicknesses seized on the Pilgrimes there, especially in summer. The Turks, like Salamanders, could live in that fiery

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fiery countrey, whose scorching our Northern bodies could not endure. Yea, long before I find it observed by Vitruvius, that they who come cold into hot countreys, cannot long subsist, but are dissolved; whilst those that change out of hot into cold, find not only no distemper and sickness by the alteration, but also grow more healthfull, solid, and compacted: But this perchance is easlyer said then maintained.

But let us not hereupon be disheartened to set on our Southern foes for fear to be impaired, nor they invited to invade us by hope to be improved. Know, it is not so much the climate, as bad and unwholesome diet intruding the climate against us, which unfineweth those Northern nations when they come into the South: Which bad diet, though sometimes necessary for want of better food, yet is most-times voluntary through mens wilfull intemperance. In the Portugall action *anno* 1589, more English owed their Calenture to the heat of wine then weather. Why do our English merchants bodies fadge well enough in Southern aire? why cannot our valour thrive as well there as our profit; but chiefly for this, That merchants are carefull of themselves, whilst souldiers count it baseness to be thrifty of their own healths?

Besides, the sinnes of the South unmasculate Northern bodies. In hot countreys the Sirens of pleasure sing the sweetest, which quickly ravish our eares unused to such musick. But should we marching Southwards observe our health in some proportion of temperance, and by degrees habituate our selves to the climate; and should we keep our souls from their sinnes, no doubt the North might pierce the South as farre, and therein erect as high and long-lasting trophies, as ever the South did in the North.

Nor must it have admittance without examination into a judicious breast, what some have observed; That Northern people never enjoyed any durable settled government in the South. Experience avoweth they are more happy in speedie conquering then in long enjoying of countreys.

But the first Monarch the world ever knew (I mean, the Assyrian) came from the North: Whence he is so often styled in Scripture, The King of the North; conquering, and for many years enjoying those countreys which lie betwixt him and the sunne; as Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Syria, Egypt: To speak nothing of the Turks, who in the dichotomizing of the world fall under the Northern part, and coming out of Scythia at first subdued most Southern countreys.

## Chap. 16.

*The seventh impediment, the Vitioufnesse of the undertakers.*

THUS are we fallen on the next hindrance of successe in this Holy warre, the Vitioufnesse of the undertakers. But here first we must make an honourable reservation for many adventurers herein, whom we confesse most pious and religious persons. Let us not raise the opinion of our own pietie by trampling on our predeceffours, as if this age had monopolized all goodnesse to it self. Some no doubt most religious and truly valiant (as fearing nothing but sinne) engaged themselves in this action; of whom I could onely wish, that their zeal herein had either had more light or lesse heat. But with these, I say not how many, but too many went most wicked people, the causers of the ill successe.

It will be objected, *Sanctitas morum* hath been made of some a note of the true Church, never the signe of a fortunate armie: Look on all armies generally, we shall find them of the souldiers religion, not troubled with over-much precisenesse: As our King John said, (whether wittily or wickedly, let others judge) That the Buck he opened was fat, yet never heard Masse: so many souldiers have been successefull without the least smack of pietie; some such desperate villains, that fortune (to erroneous judgements) may seem to have favoured them for fear.

True: but we must not consider these adventurers as plain and mere souldiers, but as Pilgrimes and Gods armie, in whom was required, and from whom was expected more pietie and puritie of life and manners then in ordinarie men: whereas on the contrarie, we shall make it appear, that they were more vicious then the common sort of men. Nor do we this out of crueltie or wantonnesse, to wound and mangle the memorie of the dead; but to anatomize and open their ulcerous insides, that the dead may teach the living, and lesson posteritie.

Besides those that went, many were either driven or fled to the Holy land. Those were driven, who having committed some \* horrible sinne in Europe, had this penance imposed on them, To travel to Jerusalem to expiate their faults. Many a whore was sent thither to find her virginite: Many a murderer was enjoined to fight in the Holy warre, to wash off the guilt of Christian blood by shedding blood of Turks. The like was in all other offenses; malefactours were sent hither to satisfie for their former wickednesse. Now God forbid we should condemn

\* Totum vulgus, tam casti quam incesti, adulteri, homicidæ, perjuri, prædones, *Albertus A. quensis, Chron. Hierosol. lib. 1. cap. 2. Bifolius, pag. 101. ex Brocardo, Malefactor deprehenus, homicida, latro, fur, incestuosus, adulter, fornicator, timet à judice condignam poenam, & transiret in terram Sanctam.*

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demn them, if truly penitents, for impious. May he who speaketh against penitents, never have the honour to be one; since Repentance is the younger brother to Innocence it self. But we find that many of them reverted to their former wickednesse: they lost none of their old faults and got many new, mending in this hot countrey as fowre ale in summer. Others fled hither, who having supererogated the gallows in their own countreys by their severall misdemeanours, theft, rapes, incest, murders, to avoid the stroke of Justice, protected themselves under this voyage; and coming to Palestine, so profited in those Eastern schools of vices, that they learned to be more artificially wicked. This plainly appeareth, as in sundrie other Authours, so chiefly in Tyrius, a witness beyond exception, who \* often complaineth hereof. And if we value testimonies rather by the weight then number, we must credit so grave a man, who writeth it with grief, and had no doubt as much water in his eyes as ink in his pen, and surely would be thankful to him that herein would prove him a liar.

\* Especially in the end of King Almeric's life.

## Chap. 17.

*The eighth hindrance, the Treacherie of the Templars; Of Sacriledge alledged by Baronius, the cause of the ill successe.*

ROBERT Earl of Artois upbraided the Master of the Templars, That it was the common speech, that the Holy land long since had been wonne, but for the false collusion of the Templars and Hospitallers with the Infidels: Which words, though proceeding from passion in him yet from premeditation in others, not made by him but related, deserve to be observed the rather, because common reports (like smoke, seldom but from some fire, never but from much heat) are generally true. It is not to be denied, but that both these Orders were guiltie herein, as appeareth by the whole current of the storie. Yea, King Almeric fairly trusted up twelve Templars at once, \* hanging them for delivering up an impregnable fort to Syracan. These like a deceitfull chirurgeon, who hath more corruption in himself then the sore he dresseth, prolonged the cure for their private profit; and this Holy warre being the trade whereby they got their gains, they lengthened it out to the utmost: So that their Treacherie may passe for the eighth impediment.

\* Tyrius, lib. 19. cap. 11.

Baronius \* concludeth this one principall cause of the Christians ill successe, That the Kings of Jerusalem took away that citie from the Patriarchs thereof, herein committing sacriledge, a sinne so hainous, that malice it self cannot with an enemy guilty of a worse. But whether or no this was sacriledge, we referre the reader to what hath been largely discussed before.

And here I could wish to be an auditour at the learned and unpartiall arguing of this question, Whether over-great donations to the Church may not afterwards be revoked? On the one side it would be pleaded, who should be judge of the over-greatnesse, seeing too many are so narrow-hearted to the Church, they count any thing too large for it; yea, some would cut off the flesh of the Churches necessary maintenance, under pretense to cure her of a tympanie of superfluities. Besides, it would be alledged, What once hath been bestowed on pious uses, must ever remain thereto: To give a thing and take a thing, is a play too childish for children; much lesse must God be mocked therewith, in resuming what hath been conferred upon him. It would be argued on the other side, That when Kings do perceive the Church readie to devoure the Commonwealth by vast and unlimited donations unto it, and Clergie-men grown to suspicious greatnesse, armed with hurtfull and dangerous priviledges derogatorie to the royaltie of Princes; then, then it is high time for Princes to pare their overgrown greatnesse. But this high pitch we leave to stronger wings: Sure I am in another kind, this Holy warre was guiltie of sacriledge, and for which it thrived no whit the better; in that the Pope exempted six and twentie thousand manours in Europe, belonging to the Templars and Hospitallers, from paying any tithes to the Priest of the parish; so that many a minister in England smarteth at this day for the Holy warre. And if this be not sacriledge, to take away the dowrie of the Church without assuring her any joynture in lieu of it, I report my self to any that have not the pearl of prejudice in the eye of their judgement.

## Chap. 18.

*Three grand faults in the Kingdome of Jerusalem, hindring the strength and puissance thereof.*

Come we now to survey the Kingdome of Jerusalem in it self: We will take it in its verticall point, in the beginning of Baldwine the third, when grown to the best strength and beautie; yet even then had it some faults, whereby it was impossible ever long to subsist.

1. It lay farre from any true friend. On the West it was bounded with the mid-land-sea, but on all other sides it was environed with an Ocean of foes, and was a countrey continually besieged with enemies. One being to sell his house, amongst other commendations thereof, proclaimed, That his house had a very good neighbour; a thing indeed considerable in the purchase, and might advance the sale thereof a yeares value: Sure I am, the Kingdome of Jerusalem had no such conveniencie, having bad neighbours round about: Cyprus indeed their friend lay within a dayes sail; but alas! the Kings thereof had their hands full to defend themselves, and could scarce spare a finger to help any other.

2. The Kingdome was farre extended, but not well compacted: all the bodie thereof ran out in arms and legs. Besides that ground inhabited formerly by the twelve tribes, and properly called the Holy land, the Kingdome of Jerusalem ranged Northward over all Cefosyria and Cilicia in the lesser Asia: North-eastward, it roved over the Principalities of Antioch and Edeffa, even unto Carre beyond Euphrates: Eastward, it possessed farre beyond Jordan the strong fort of Cracci, with a great part of Arabia Petrea: Southward, it stretched to the entrance of Egypt. But as he is a strong man, whose joynts are well set and knit together, nor whom nature hath spunne out all in length and never thickened him; so it is the united and well compacted Kingdome entire in it self which is strong, not that which reacheth and strideth the farthest. For in the midst of the Kingdome of Jerusalem lay the Kingdome of Damascus, like a canker feeding on the breast thereof: and clean through the Holy land, though the Christians had many cities sprinkled here and there, the Turks in other strong holds continued mingled amongst them.

3. Lastly, (what we have touched once before) some subjects to the Kings of Jerusalem, namely, the Princes of Antioch, Edeffa and Tripoli, had too large and absolute power and

and authoritie: They would do whatsoever the King would command them, if they thought good themselves. Now subjects should be Adjectives, not able to stand without (much lesse against) their Prince, or they will make but bad construction otherwise.

These three hindrances in the Kingdome of Jerusalem added to the nine former, will complete a Jurie. Now if any one chance to censure one or two of them, let him not triumph therein; for we produce not these impediments severally but joyntly, not to fight single duells but all in an armie: *Non nocent quamvis singula, juncta nocent.*

### Chap. 19.

*What is to be conceived of the incredible numerousnesse of many armies mentioned in this storie.*

**F**requent mention hath been made through this Holy warre of many armies, as well Christian as Turkish, whose number of souldiers swell very great, so as it will not be amisse once for all to discusse the point concerning the numerousnesse of armies anciently. And herein we branch our opinion into these severals.

1. Asian armies are generally observed greater then those of Europe: There it is but a sucking and infant companie to have ten thousand, yea, under fiftie thousand no number. The reason of their multitude is, not that Asia is more populous, but more spacious then Europe. Christendome is enclosed into many small Kingdomes and free States; which severally can send forth no vast numbers, and seldome agree so well as to make a joynt collection of their forces: Asia lieth in common, in large countreys, and many of them united under one head. Besides, it is probable (especially in ancient times, as may be proved out of Scripture) that those Eastern countreys often spend their whole stock of men, and employ all their arms-bearing people in their martiall service, not picking or culling them out, as we in Europe use to do.

2. Modern armies are farre lesse then those in former ages. The warre-genius of the world is altered now-a-dayes, and supplieth number with policie; the foxes skinne picceth out the lions hide. Especially armies have been printed in a smaller letter since guns came up: One well-mounted cannon will

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spare the presence and play the part of a whole band in a battel.

3. Armies both of Europe, and chiefly in Asia (as farther off) are reported farre greater then truth. Even as many old men use to set the clock of their age too fast when once past seventie; and growing ten yeares in a twelve-moneth, are presently fourescore, yea, within a yeare or two after, climbe up to an hundred: So it is in relating the number of souldiers; if they exceed threescore and ten thousand, then *ad rotunditatem numeri*, they are hoised up to an hundred, and then fiftie thousand more cast in for advantage. Not to speak of the facil mistake in figures; One telleth, at the first voyage of Pilgrimes there went forth \* six hundred thousand; \* another counteth three hundred thousand slain at the last taking of Ptolemais: their glib pennes making no more reckoning of men then of pinnes. We perchance may do justly in imitating the unjust steward, setting down in the bill of our belief but fitty for every hundred.

Nor is it any Paradox, but what will abide the touch, That competent forces of able and well-appointed and well-disciplined souldiers under an experienced Generall, are farre more usefull then such an unweldie multitude. Little loadstones will in proportion attract a greater quantitie of steel then those which be farre greater, because their poles are nearer together, and so their vertue more united: So shall we find braver achievements by moderate armies, then by such portentous and extravagant numbers. I never read of any miracle done by the statue of S. Christopher in Paris, though he be rather of a mountainlike then manlike bignesse. Yea, such immoderate great armies are subject to great inconveniences.

1. They are not so easily manageable; and the commands of their Generall cool and lose some vertue in passing so long a journey through so many. 2. It is improbable that so many thousands can be heaped together, but the armie will be very heterogeneous, patched up of different people unsuited in their manners; which must needs occasion much cumbrance. 3. These crowds of souldiers may hinder one another in their service; as many at the same time pressing out at a wicket. 4. Victuals for so many mouthes will not easily be provided, the provisions of a countrey serving them but a meal, they must fast afterwards. 5. Lastly, such great numbers (though this, I must confesse, is onely *per accidens*, yet often incident) beget carelesnesse and confidence in them; as if they would not thank God for their victories, but conceive it a due debt owed to their multitudes. This hath induced some to the opinion to maintain, That a competent able armie

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of

\* Malmesb. lib. 4. pag. 133. Sexagies (surely a mistake for sexies) centum millia.  
\* Lamp. Metaph. lib. pag. 313.

of thirtie thousand (which number Gonzaga that brave General did pitch on as sufficient and complete) need not fear upon a paritie in all other respects, any companie whatsoever to come against them: such are enough, being as good as a fealt, and farre better then a surfet.

Anno  
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## Chap. 20.

*Of the numberlesse Christians which lost their lives in this service.*

**X**Erxes viewing his armie, consisting of more then a million, from an high place all at a sight, is said to weep at the thought, That within an hundred yeares all those would be mowed down with death: But what man could behold without fouds of tears, if presented to him at one view, the infinites of people which lost their lives in this action!

In the first voyage went forth (as the most conscionable counters report) three hundred thousand: Of these we can make the reader but spendthrifts accounts, All is gone, without shewing the particulars. For after the taking of Jerusalem, this armie was drawn so low, that Godfrey being to fight with Ammiravissus the Egyptian, and bringing forth his whole strength, had but twelve hundred horse and nine thousand foot left him.

At the second setting forth, of two hundred and fiftie thousand led hither by Hugh brother to the King of France and sundrie other Bishops, not a thousand came into Palestine.

In the third voyage, Conrade the Emperour led forth no fewer then two hundred thousand foot and fiftie thousand horse, nor was the armie of King Lewis of France farre inferior: Of whom such as returned make no noise, as not considerable in number.

At the fourth setting forth, Frederick Barbarossa counted an hundred and fiftie thousand souldiers in his armie: Of whom when they came to Ptolemais, no more then \*eighteen hundred armed men remained.

Fifthly, what numbers were carried forth by our Richard the first and Philip of France, I find not specified; no doubt they did bear proportion to the greatnesse of the undertakers: All which at their return were consumed to a very small companie.

To omit severall other intermediate actions of many Princes, who went forth with armies and scarce came home with families; King Lewis carried forth two and thirty thousand: Of which

Tyrinus, lib. 9.  
cap. 12.

Ursperg. in  
Chron. pag.  
239.

\* P. Aemyl.  
in Phil. Aug.  
pag. 175.

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which onely six thousand came home, as their own writers report, who tell their tale as it may sound best for the credit of their country; whilst \* others count eightie thousand to have lost their lives in that voyage: yea, \* some reckon no fewer then an hundred thousand common men, besides seven Counts, to have died in Cyprus of the plague.

\* At his second voyage to Tunis, of an hundred and twentie ships which lay at anchor at Trape in Sicily, there were no more saved then the mariners of one onely French ship, and the thirteen ships of our Prince Edward; all the rest, with men, armour and munition did miserably perish.

But enough of this dolefull subject. If young Physicians with the first fee for their practice are to purchase a new church-yard, Pope Urbane the second might well have bought some ground for graves when he first perwaded this bloudie project; whereby he made all Jerusalem, Golgotha, a place for sculls; and all the Holy land, Aceldama, a field of bloud.

263  
\* Knolls,  
Turk. hist.  
pag. 106.  
\* Magdeburg.  
Cent. 13. col.  
606.

\* Fox, in  
Martyrol. in  
Hen. 3. pag.  
337.

## Chap. 21.

*The throne of Deserts: What nation merited most praise in this warre; And first of the French and Dutch service therein.*

**A**S in the first book we welcomed each severall nation when they first entred into this service; so it is good manners now to take our solemn farewell of them at their going out, and to examine which of them deserved most commendation for their valour in this warre. And herein me thinketh the distinction usuall in some Colledges, of Founders, By-founders, and Benefactors, may properly take place. The Founders of this Holy warre, were the French; the By-founders, the Dutch, English, and Italian; the Benefactors (according to the different degrees of bountie) the Spanish, Polish, Danish, Scots, and all other people of Europe.

The French I make the Founders for these reasons: First, because they began the action first. Secondly, France in proportion sent most adventurers. Some voyages were all of French, and all voyages were of some French. Yea, French men were so frequent at Jerusalem, that at this day all Western Europeans there are called Franks (as I once conceived, and perchance not without companie in my errour) because so many French men came thither in the Holy warre. Since, I am converted from that false opinion, having found that two

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\* Vide M.  
Selden on  
Polybion,  
pag. 150.

\* Sandys Trave-  
ls, pag. 229

hundred years before the Holy warre was dreamed of, namely, in the time of Constantine \* Porphyrogenetes Emperour of the East, all Western Christians were known to the Greeks by the name of *Franks*; so that it seemeth the Turks borrowed that appellation from the Grecians. Thirdly, As France sent the most, so many of most eminent note: She sheweth for the game no worse cards then a pair royall of Kings; Lewis the Young, Philip Augustus, and Saint Lewis; besides Philip the Bold his sonne, who went half-way to Tunis. The first and last Christian King of Europe that went to Palestine was a French man; and all the Kings of Jerusalem, Frederick the Emperour onely excepted, originally were of that nation. Fourthly, Even at this day France is most loyall to the cause. Most grand Masters of the Hospitallers have been French men: And at this day the Knights of Malta, who have but foure Albergies or Seminaries in all Christendome, have \* three of them in France; viz. one of France in generall, one of Avergne, and one of Provence. Yet France carrieth not the upper hand so clearly but that Germanie justleth for it; especially if we adde to it the Low-countrys, the best stable of wooden horses, and most potent in shipping in that age of any country in Europe; which though an *ambibion* betwixt both, yet custome at this day adjudgeth it Dutch.

Now these are the severall accents of honour in the Germane service: First, That countrey sheweth three Emperours in the Holy warre; Conrade, Frederick Barbarossa, and Frederick the second. The last of these was solemnly crowned and peaceably possessed King of Jerusalem. Secondly, Germanie sent more Princes to this warre then all Europe besides. It would be an infinite task to reckon them all; it being true of the Germane Nobilitie what Logicians say of a *Line*, that it is *divisibilis in semper divisibilia*. Here honours equally descend to sonnes and daughters; whereby they have Counts without counting in the whole Empire: There were seventeen Princes of Henault, and seven and twentie Earls of Mansfield all living together: So that one of their own countrymen saith, That the Dutch esteem none to be men but onely such as are Noble-men. We will not take notice of Germanie as it is minced into pettie Principalities, but as cut into principall Provinces. We find these regnant Princes (for as for their younger brethren, herein they are not accounted) to have been personally present in the Holy warre:

Prince

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Prince Palatine of Rhene,		Dukes of Bavaria,	
Henry	1197	1 Guelfo	1101
Duke (or as others, King) of Bohemia,		2 Henry	1147
Jaboslaus, or Ladislaus	1147	3 Lewis	1216
Duke of Saxonie,		Landt-graves of Thuringia,	
Henry the younger	1197	1 Herman	1197
Marquesse of Brandenburg,		2 Lewis	1227
Ortho	1197	Marquesse of Moravia,	
Archbishops of Mentz,		Conrade	1197
1 Conrade		Duke of Mecklenburg,	
2 Siphred	1197	Henry	1277
Archbsh. of Triers,		Earls of Flandres,	
Theodoricus	1216	1 Theodoricus	1147
Archbsh. of Colen,		2 Philippus	1190
Theodoricus	1216	3 Baldwine	1200
Dukes of Austria,		4 William Dampier	1250
1 Leopoldus the second	1190	5 Guido	1270
2 Frederick	1197	Dukes of Brabant,	
3 Leopoldus the third, surnamed the Glorious	1216	1 Godfrey	1195
		2 Henry	1227
		Earl of Holland,	
		William	1216

All these (I say not, these were all) went themselves, & led forth other companies suitable to their greatnesse. The Reader, as he lighteth on more, at his leisure may strike them into this catalogue. Thirdly, Germanie maintained the Teutonick Order, wholly consisting of her nation; besides Templars and Hospitallers, whereof she had abundance: of whose loyall and valiant service we have spoken largely before. Lastly, She fought another Holy warre at the same time against the Tartars and other barbarous people, which invaded her on her North-east-part. And though some will except, That that warre cannot be intitled Holy, because being on the defensive, it was rather of nature and necessitie then pietie: yet upon examination it will appear, that this service was lesse superstitious, more charitable to Christendome, and more rationall and discreet in it self; it being better husbandrie, to save a whole cloth in Europe, then to winne a ragge in Asia.

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Chap. 22.

*The English and Italian service compared; Of the Spanish, Polish, Norwegian, Hungarian, Danish, and Swedish performance in this warre.*

**N**Ext in this race of honour follow England and Italie, being very even and hard-matched. England (it is no flatterie to affirm what envie cannot denie) spurreth up close for the prize; and though she had a great disadvantage in the starting (Italie being much nearer to Palestine) yet she quickly recovered it. Our countrey sent one King (Richard the first) and three Kings sonnes (Robert Courthois, Richard of Cornwall, and Prince Edward) to this warre. Yea, England was a dayly friend to this action: and besides these great and grosse summes of visible adventurers, she dropped and cast in privily many a Pilgrime of good qualitie; so that there was scarce any remarkable battel or memorable siege done through the warre wherein there were not some English of eminent desert.

Yet Italy cometh not any whit behind, if the atchievements of her severall States, Venetians, Genoans, Pisans, Sicilians, Florentines, were made and moulded up together: Yea, for sea-service and engineers in this warre, they bear the bell away from all other nations. But these things allay the Italian service: 1. It was not so abstracted from the dregs of mercinarinesse as that of other countreys (whose adventurers counted their very work herein sufficient wages) but before they would yeeld their assistance they indented and covenanted with the King of Jerusalem to have such and such profits, pensions, and priviledges in all places they took, to them and their posteritie; not as an honorarie reward freely conferred on them, but in nature of wages *ex pacto* contracted for aforehand: as the Genoans had in Ptolemais, and the Venetians in Tyre. 2. These Italians stopped two gaps with one bush: they were Merchant-Pilgrimes, & together applied themselves to profit and pietie. Here in Tyre they had their banks, and did drive a sweet trade of spices and other Eastern commodities. 3. Lastly, As at first they gave good milk, so they kicked it down with their heel, and by their mutuall discord caused the losse of all they helped to gain in Syria.

Spain was exercised all the time of this warre in defending her self against the Moores and Saracens in her own bowels: Yet such was her charitie, that whilst her own house was on burning

*Tyrius, lib. 10. cap. 28. & lib. 12. cap. 25.*

*Anno Dom. 1147*

*Anno Dom. 1147*

burning, she threw some buckets of water to quench her neighbours: and as other nations cast their superfluitie, she her widows mite into the treasure of this action; and produceth two Theobalds Kings of Navarre, and Alphonse King of Castile, that undertook expeditions to Palestine.

Hungary sheweth one King, Andrew, who washed himself in Jordan, and then shrinking in the wetting returned presently home again. But this countrey, though it self did go little, yet was much gone through to the Holy warre (being the rode to Syria for all land-armies) and merited well in this action, in giving peaceable passage and courteous entertainment to Pilgrimes; as to Duke Godfrey, and Frederick Barbarossa, with all their souldiers as they travelled through it. Had the Kings of Hungarie had the same principle of balenesse in their souls as the Emperours of Grecia, they had had the same cause of jealousy against the Christians that passed this way; yet they used them most kindly, and disdained all dishonourable suspicions. True it is, at the first voyage, King Coloman, not out of crueltie but carefulnesse and necessarie securitie, did use his sword against some unruly and disorderly Pilgrimes: but none were there abused which first abused not themselves. But what-ever Hungarie was in that age, it is at this day Christendomes best land-bulwark against the Turks: Where this prettie custome is used, That the men wear so many feathers as they have killed Turks; which if observed elsewhere, either feathers would be lesse, or valour more in fashion.

Poland could not stirre in this warre, as lying constant *perdue* of Christendome against the Tartarian; yet we find \* Boleslaus Crispus Duke or King thereof (waiting on, shall I say? or) accompanying Conrade the Emperour in his voyage to Palestine; and having defraidd all his and his armies costs and charges towards Constantinople, he returned home, as not to be spared in his own countrey. But if by King Davids \* statute, the keepers of the baggage are to be sharers in the spoil with the fighters of the battel, then surely Poland and such other countreys may entitle themselves to the honour of the warre in Palestine; which in the mean time kept home, had an eye to the main chance, and defended Europe against forrein invaders.

Norway (in that age the sprucest of the three Kingdomes of Scandia, and best tricked up with shipping; though at this day the case is altered with her, and she turned from taking to paying of tribute) sent her fleet of tall souldiers to Syria: who like good fellows, asked nothing for their work but their victuals, and valiantly wonne the citie of Sidon for the King of Jerusalem. And it is considerable, that Syria (but a step or stride

*\* Annot. Cosmog. in Polon.*

*\* 1. Sam. 30. 24.*



(ride from Italie) was a long race from Norway; so that their Pilgrimes went not onely into another countrey but into another world.

Denmark was also partner in the foresaid service. Also afterwards, Ericus \* her King, though he went not quite through to the Holy land, yet behaved himself bravely in Spain, and there assisted the winning of Lisbon from the Infidels. His successour \* Canutus anno 1189, had provided his navie, but was prevented by death: his ships neverthelesse came to Syria.

Of Sweden in this grand-jurie of nations I heare no *Vous avez*; but her default of appearance hath been excused \* before.

\* *Vide Calvium* in anno 1145. & *Jo. Magnum*, *Hist. Goth.* lib. 19. cap. 10.

\* *Baronius*, in anno 1189. \* *Lib. 1. cap. 13.*

Anno Dom. 1145

### Chap. 23.

#### *Of the Scottish, Welsh, and Irish, their severall adventures.*

Here remain behind the Scottish, Welsh, and Irish. It may occasion suspicion, that these nations either did neglect or are neglected in this Holy warre, because clean through this Historie there is no mention of them or their achievements. True it is, these countreys can boast of no King of their own sent to Syria, nor of any great appearing service by them alone performed. It seemeth then they did not so much play the game themselves, as bet on the hands of others: and haply the Scottish service is accounted to the French; the Welsh and Irish, to the English.

That Scotland was no ciphre in this warre, plainly appeareth; 1. In that \* David, Earl of Huntington, and younger brother to William the Elder King of Scotland, went along with our Richard the first; no doubt suitably attended with souldiers. This David was by a tempest cast into Egypt, taken captive by the Turks, bought by a Venetian, brought to Constantinople, there known and redeemed by an English merchant, and at last safely arrived at \* Alecūm in Scotland; which Alecūm he in memorie and gratitude of his return called Dundee, or *Dei donum*, Gods gift. 2. By the plentiful provision which there was made for the Templars and Hospitallers: Who here enjoyed great privileges; this amongst many others, (Take the Scottish law in its pure naturals) That the Master of the Knights of the Temple and cheefe Priors of the Hospitall of Jerusalem (wha were keepers of strangers to the Holy grave) should be received themselves personally in any

suit

\* *Buchan.* in *Guilhelmo Seniore.*

\* *Hist. Boet.*

Third book of *Malgest.* cap. 18.

Anno Dom. 1145

suit without entertaining a procuratour for them. Nor must we here forget a Saint, William a Scor, of Perth by birth, by trade a baker, in charitie so abundant that he gave his tenth loaf to the poore, in zeal so fervent that he vowed to visit the Holy land. But in his journey, as he passed through Kent, he was slain by his servant, buried at Rochester; afterwards Sainted, and shewed many miracles.

Neither may we think, whilst all other nations were at this Martiall school, that Wales the while truant at home. The Welsh, saith my \* Authour, left their forrests; and now with them no sport to the hunting of Turks: especially after that \* Wizo and Walter his sonne, had founded the fair Commandrie for Hospitallers at Slebach in Pembroke-shire, and endowed it with rich revenues.

Ireland also putteth in for her portion of honour in this service. Indeed, for the first fourescore yeares in the Holy warre, Ireland did little there, or in any other countrey. It was divided into many pettie Kingdomes; so that her peoples valour had no progressive motion in length, to make any impression in forrein parts, but onely moved round in a circle at home, their pettie *Reguli* spending themselves against themselves, till our Henry the second conquered them all. After which time the Irish began to look abroad into Palestine: witness many houses for Templars, and the stately Priorie of Kilmainam nigh Dublin for Hospitallers; the last Lord Prior whereof at the dissolution, was Sir John Rawson. Yea, we may well think, that all the consort of Christendome in this warre could have made no musick if the Irish Harp had been wanting.

*Lambert, Peramb. Kent.*

\* *W. Malmf.* lib. 4. pag. 133.

\* *Camden*, in *Pembr.*

### Chap. 24.

#### *Of the honourable Arms in scutcheons of Nobilitie occasioned by their service in the Holy warre.*

Now for a corollarie to this storie, if we survey the scutcheons of the Christian Princes and Nobilitie at this day, we shall find the Arms of many of them pointing at the achievements of their predecessours in the Holy warre.

Thus the \* Dukes of Austria bear Gules a Fesse Argent, in memory of the valour of Leopoldus at the siege of *Proles* mais; whereof before.

\* *Pent. De illust. Germ.* part. 2. pag. 201.

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\* *Holpin. De orig. Mon. cap. 17. fol. 190.*

The Duke of Savoy \* beareth Gules a Crosse Argent, being the crosse of S. John of Jerusalem; because his predecessors were speciall benefactors to that Order, and assisted them in defending of Rhodes.

Queens Colledge in Cambridge (to which I owe my education for my first seven years in that Universitie) giveth for parcel of her Arms, amongst many other rich Coats, the Crosse of Jerusalem; as being founded by Queen Margaret, wife to King Henry the sixth, and daughter of Renate Earl of Angiers and titular King of Sicilie and Jerusalem.

The noble and numerous familie of the Douglasses in Scotland (whereof at this day are one Marquesse, two Earls, and a Vice-count) give in their Arms a mans Heart, ever since \* Robert Bruce King of Scotland bequeathed his heart to James Douglass, to carry it to Jerusalem; which he accordingly performed.

To instance in particulars were endlesse: we will onely summe them up in generals. Emblemes of honour born in Coats occasioned by the Holy warre, are reducible to these heads:

1. Scallop-shells; which may fitly for the workmanship thereof be called *artificium natura*. It seemeth Pilgrimes carried them constantly with them, as Diogenes did his dish, to drink in. \* I find an Order of Knights called *Equites Cocleares*, wearing belike Cockle or Scallop-shells, belonging to them who had done good sea-service, especially in the Holy warre; and many Hollanders (saith my Authour) for their good service at the siege of Damietta were admitted into that Order.

2. Saracens Heads: It being a maxime in Heraldrie, That it is more honourable to bear the head then any other part of the bodie. They are commonly born either black or bloudie. But if Saracens in their Arms should use Christians heads, I doubt not but they would shew ten to one.

3. Pilgrimes or Palmers Scrips or Bags; the Arms of the worshipfull family of the \* Palmers in Kent.

4. Pilgrimes Staves, and such like other implements and accoutrements belonging unto them.

5. But the chiefest of all is the Crosse: which though born in Arms before, yet was most commonly and generally used since the Holy warre. The plain Crosse, or S. Georges Crosse, I take to be the mother of all the rest; as plain-song is much senior to any running of division. Now as by transposition of a few letters, a world of words are made; so by the varying of this Crosse in form, colour, and metall (ringing as it were the changes) are made infinite severall Coats: The Crosse of *Jerusalem*, or *five Crosses*, most frequently used in this warre; Crosse *Patee*, because the ends thereof are broad; *Fichée*, whose bottom is sharp, to be fixed in the ground; *Wavée*, which those may justly

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\* Camden, in his description of Claudius date.

\* Zutivins Buxhorn his Apologie for the Holland shipping.

\* Guill. in his Heraldrie.

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justly wear who sailed thither through the miseries of the sea, or sea of miseries: *Molinée*, because like to the rind of a mill: *Saltyrée*, or S. Andrews Crosse: *Florid*, or garlanded with flowers: the Crosse *crossed*: Besides the divers tricking or dressing; as piercing, voiding, fimbriating, ingrailling, coupling: And in fancie and devices there is still a *plus ultra*; insomuch that Crosses alone as they are variously disguised, are enough to distinguish all the severall families of Gentlemen in England.

Exemplary is the Coat of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham; five Scallop-shells on a plain Crosse, speaking his predecessors valour in the Holy warre. For Sir Nicolas de Villiers Knight, followed Edward the first in his warres in the Holy land; and then and there assumed this his new Coat: For formerly he bore Sable three Cinquefoils Argent: This \* Nicolas was the ancestor of the Duke of Buckingham, lineally descended from the ancient familie of Villiers in Normandie; then which name none more redoubted in this service: For we \* find John de Villiers the one and twentieth Master of the Hospitallers; and another Philip de Villiers Master of Rhodes, under whom it was surrendered to the Turks; a yeelding equall to a conquest.

Yet should one labour to find a myserie in all Arms, relating to the qualitie or defects of the owners of them (like Chrysippus, who troubled himself with great contention to find out a Stoicall assertion of Philosophie in every fiction of the Poets) he would light on a labour in vain. For I believe (be it spoken with loyalty to all Kings of Arms, and Herald's their Lieutenants in that facultie) that at the first, the \* will of the bearer was the reason of the bearing; or if at their originall of assuming them there were some speciall cause, yet time since hath cancelled it: And as in Mythologie; the morall hath often been made since the fable; so a sympathie betwixt the Arms and the bearer hath sometimes been of later invention. I deny not but in some Coats some probable reason may be assigned of bearing them: But it is in vain to digge for mines in every ground, because there is lead in Mendip hills.

To conclude; As great is the use of Arms, so this especially, To preserve the memories of the dead. Many a dumbe monument, which through time or sacriledge hath lost his tongue, the epitaph, yet hath made such signes by the scutcheons about it, that Antiquaries have understood who lay there entombed.

\* Barton in Leicestershire.

\* Holpin. De orig. Mon. in Jean.

\* Dr. Ridley, View of the Civil law, §. 6. pag. 100.

## Chap. 25.

*Some offers of Christian Princes for Palestine since the end of the Holy warre, by Henry the fourth of England, Charles the eighth of France, and James the fourth of Scotland.*

As after that the bodie of the sunne is set, some shining still surviveth in the west: so after this Holy warre was expired, we find some straggling rayes and beams of valour offering that way; ever and anon the Christian Princes having a bout with that designe. To collect the severall essayes of Princes glancing on that project, were a task of great pains and small profit, specially, some of them being umbrages and State-representations rather then realities, to ingratiate Princes with their subjects, or with the oratorie of so pious a project to woo money out of peoples purses, or thereby to cloke and cover armies levied to other intents: Besides, most of these designs were abortive, or abortive rather, like those untimely miscarriages not honoured with a foul or the shape and lineaments of an infant. Yet to save the Readers longing, we will give him a taste or two; and begin with that of our Henry the fourth of England.

The end of the reigne of this our Henry was peaceable and prosperous. For though his title was builded on a bad foundation, yet it had strong buttresses: most of the Nobilitie favoured and sensed it: And as for the house of York, it appeared not; its best blood as yet ranne in feminine veins, and therefore was the lesse active. Now King Henry in the sunne-shine evening of his life (after a stormie day) was disposed to walk abroad, and take in some forrein aire. He pitched his thoughts on the Holy \*warre, for to go to Jerusalem, and began to provide for the same. One principall motive which incited him was, That it was told him he should not die till he had heard Masse in Jerusalem. But this proved not like the revelation told to old \*Simeon: for King Henry was faine to sing his *Nunc dimittis*, before he expected, and died in the chamber called *Jerusalem* in Westminster. By comparing this prophesie with one of Apollo's oracles, we may conclude them to be brethren (they are so alike) and both begotten of the father of lies: For the Devil eartheth himself in an homonymie, as a fox in the ground; if he be stopped at one hole, he will get out at another. How-ever, the Kings purpose

deserveth

\* Lord Verulam, in his Henry vii. pag. 87.

\* Luke 1. 16.

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deserveth remembrance and commendation, because really and seriously intended;

Farre better, I beleeve, then that of Charles the eighth King of France: Who in a braving Embassage which he sent to our Henry the seventh, gave him to understand his resolutions; to make re-conquest of Naples, but as of a bridge to \*transport his forces into Grecia; and then not to spare blood or treasure (if it were to the impairing of his Crown and dispeopling of France) till either he had overthrown the Empire of the Ottomans, or taken it in his way to Paradise; and hence (belike) he would have at Jerusalem, invited (as he said) with the former example of our Henry the fourth. But our King Henry the seventh (being too good a fencer to mistake a flourish for a blow) quickly sensed his drift (which was to perswade our King to peace, till Charles should perform his projects in little Britain and elsewhere) and dealt with him accordingly. And as for the gradation of King Charles his purposes, Naples, Grecia, Jerusalem, a stately but difficult ascent, (where the stairs are so farre asunder, the legs must be long to stride them) the French nation was weary of climbing the first, and then came down, vaulting nimbly into Naples and out of it again.

More cordiall was that of \*James the fourth King of Scotland, that pious Prince: who being touched in conscience for his fathers death (though he did not cause it, but seemed to countenance it with his presence) ever after, in token of his contrition, wore an iron chain about his body; and to expiate his fault, intended a journey into Syria. He prepared his navie, provided his souldiers, imparted his project to forrein Princes; and verily had gone, if at the first other warres, and afterwards sudden death had not caused his stay.

\* L. Verulam, in Henry vii.

\* Buchanan, in the life of James iii.

## Chap. 26.

*The fictitious voyage of William Landgrave of Hesse to Palestine confuted.*

These are enough to satisfy; more would cloy. Onely here I must discover a cheat, and have it pilloried, lest it trouble others as it hath done me: The storie I find in Calvinus, anno 1460: take it in his very words; "William the Landgrave appointed an Holy voyage to Palestine, chose his company out of many Noblemen and Earls, in number near eight: He happily finished his journey, onely one of them died in Cyprus. He brought back with him six and fourtie ensignes of

"horse.

"horfe. Seven moneths were spent in the voyage, *Fab.* So farre Calvisius, avouching this *Fab.* for his authour. Each word a wonder; not to say, an impossibilitie. What? in the yeare 1460, when the deluge of Mahometans had overrun most of Grecia, Asia, and Syria? William, a Landt-grave (of Hesse, no doubt) neither the greatest nor next to the greatest Prince in Germanie, farre from the sea, unfurnished with shipping, not within the suspicion of so great a performance! Six and fourtie horse-ensignes taken! Where? or from whom? Was it in warre, and but one man killed? A battel so bloudlesse seemeth as truthlesse, and the losing but of one man savoureth of never a one. But seven moneths spent! Such atchievements befeem rather an apprenticeship of yeares then moneths. Besides, was Fame all the while dead, speechlesse, or asleep, that the trumpeted not this action abroad? Did onely this *Fab.* take notice of it? be he *Faber*, *Fabius*, *Fabianus*, *Fabinianus*, or what you please. Why is it not storied in other writers? the Dutch men giving no scant measure in such wares, and their Chronicles being more guiltie of remembring trifles then forgetting matters of moment:

Yet the gravitie of Calvisius recording it, moveth me much on the other side; a Chronologer of such credit, that he may take up more belief on his bare word then some other on their bond. In this perplexitie, I wrote to my oracle in doubts of this nature, M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Mead fellow of Christs Colledge in Cambridge, since lately deceased: Heare his answer;

Sir,

*I have found your storie in Calvisius his posthume Chronologie, but can heare of it no-where else. I sought Reusners Basilica Genealogica, who is wont with the name of his Princes to note briefly any act or accident of theirs memorable, and sometimes scarce worth it: But no such of this William Landt-grave. So in conclusion, I am resolved it is a fable out of some Romainza; and that your Authour *Fab.* is nothing but Fabula defectively written. But you will say, Why did he put it into his book? I answer, He himself did not, but had noted it in some paper put into his Chronologie, preparing for a new and fuller Edition: which, himself dying before he had digested his new Edition (as you may see I think somewhere in the Preface) those who were trusted with it after his death to write it out for the presse, foolishly transferred out of such paper, or perhaps out of the margin, into the text; thinking that *Fab.* had been some Historian, which was nothing but that she-authour Fabula. If this will not satisfie, I know not what to say more unto it. Thus with best affection I rest*

Christ. Coll. June 20. 1638.

Yours, JOSEPH MEAD.

Anno  
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1460

Anno  
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1460

This I thought fit to recite, not for his honour but to honour my self, as conceiving it my credit to be graced with so learned a mans acquaintance.

Thus much of offertures. I will conclude with that speech of the Lady Margaret, Countesse of Richmond and Derby, and mother to our King Henry the seventh (a most pious woman, as that age went; though I am not of his faith who beleeveth her to be the next woman in goodnesse to the Virgin Mary:) She used to say, that if the Christian Princes would undertake a war against the Turks to recover the Holy land, she would be their \* laundresse. But I beleve she performed a work more acceptable in the eyes of God, in founding a Professours place in either Universitie, and in building Christs and S. Johns Colledges in Cambridge (the seminaries of so many great scholars and grave Divines) then if she had visited either Christs sepulchre or S. Johns church in Jerusalem.

\* Centuriator  
Remains.

### Chap. 27.

#### *The fortunes of Jerusalem since the Holy warre; and her present estate.*

SEVEN yeares after the Latine Christians were finally expelled out of Syria, some hope presented it self of reestablishing them again. For *Cafanus* the great Tartar Prince, having of late subdued the Persians, and married the daughter of the Armenian King (a Lady of great perfection) and of a Mahometane become a Christian, at the request of his wife he besieged the citie \* Jerusalem, and took it without resistance. The Temple of our Saviour he gave to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Christians, which flocked thicke out of Cyprus there to inhabit. But soon after his departure it fell back again to the Mammelukes of Egypt; who enjoyed it till *Selimus* the great Turk, anno 1517, overthrew the Empire of Mammelukes, and seized Jerusalem into his hand: whose successours keep it at this day.

Jerusalem better acquitteth it self to the care then to the eye, being no whit beautifull at all. The situation thereof is very uneven, rising into hills and sinking into dales; the lively embleme of the fortunes of the place; sometimes advanced with prosperitie, sometimes depressed in misery. Once it was well compacted, and \* built as a citie that is at unitie in it self; but now distracted from it self: the suspicious houses (as if afraid to be infected with more miserie then they have already, by

\* Centuriator,  
pag.  
socius operis  
penult.

\* Psal. 122-3.

conti-

contiguousness to others) keep off at distance, having many waste places betwixt them; not one \* fair street in the whole citie.

It hath a castle, built (as it is thought) by the Pisans, \* tolerably fortified. Good guard is kept about the citie, and no Christians with weapons suffered to enter. But the deepest ditch to defend Jerusalem from the Western Christians, is the remoteness of it; and the strongest wall to fence it, is the Turkish Empire compassing it round about.

Poore it must needs be, having no considerable commodity to vent; except a few beads of Holy earth, which they pay too deare for that have them for the fetching. There is in the citie a convent of Franciscans, to whom Christians repair for protection during their remaining in the citie. The Padre Guardian appointeth these Pilgrimes a Friar, who sheweth them all the monuments about the citie: Scarce a great stone, which beareth the brow of reverend antiquitie, that passeth without a peculiar legend upon it: But every vault under ground hath in it a deep mystrie indeed. Pilgrimes must follow the Friar with their bodies and belief; and take heed how they give tradition the lie, though she tell one never so boldly. The survey finished, they must pay the Guardian both for their victuals and their welcome, and gratifie his good words and looks; otherwise if they forget it, he will be so bold as to remember them. The Guardian farmeth the Sepulchre of the Turk at a yearly rent: and the Turks which reap no benefit by Christs death, receive much profit by his buriall; and not content with their yearly rent, squeeze the Friars here on all occasions, making them pay large summes for little offenses.

The other subsistence which the Friars here have, is from the benevolence of the Pope and other bountifull benefactors in Europe. Nor getteth the Padre Guardian a little by his fees of making Knights of the Sepulchre: of which Order I find, some hundred yeares since, Sr John Chamond of \* Lancels in Cornwall to have been dubbed Knight. But I beleve no good English subject at this day will take that honour, if offered him; both because at their creation they are to swear loyalty to the Pope and \* King of Spain, and because honours conferred by forrein Potentates are not here in England acknowledged, neither in their style nor precedence, except given by courtesie: Witnesse that famous case of the Count Arundel of Wardour, and Queen Elisabeths peremptorie resolve, That her sheep should be branded with no \* strangers mark, but her own.

The land about it (as Authours generally agree) is barren. Yet \* Brochard a Monk, who lived here some two hundred yeares since,

\* *Carew*, in  
his survey of  
Cornwall,  
pag. 118.

\* *Bydulpb.*  
pag. 119.

\* *Camdens*  
*Elisabeth*, in  
anno 1596.  
\* *De terra*  
*Sandæ*, part.  
2. cap. 1.

since, commendeth it to be very fruitfull. Sure he had better eyes, to see more then other men could; or else by a *Synedrache* he imputeth the fertilitye of palest to the whole country. But it is as false a consequence, as, on the other side, to conclude from the barrenness of Bagshot-heath the barrenness of all the Kingdome of England. We may rather beleve, that since the fall of the Jews from Gods favour, the once-supernaturall fertilitye of the land is taken away, and the naturall strength thereof much abated and impaired.

## Chap. 28.

*Whether it be probable that this Holy warre will ever hereafter be set on foot again.*

**T**HUS we state the question, Whether this Holy warre, I mean, for the winning of the citie of Jerusalem and recovering of Palestine, will probably ever hereafter be projected and acted again. We may beleve this tragedie came off so ill the last acting, that it will not be brought on the stage the second time.

1. The Pope will never offer to give motion to it, as knowing it unlikely to succeed. Policies of this nature are like sleights of hand, to be shewed but once; lest what is admired at first be derided afterwards.

2. Princes are grown more cunning, and will not bite at a bait so stale, so often breathed on. The Popes ends in this warre are now plainly smelt out; which though prettie and pleasing at first, yet Princes are not now, like the native Indians, to be cozened with glasse and gaudie toys: The load-stone to draw their affection (now out of non-age) must present it self necessary, profitable, and probable to be effected.

3. There is a more needfull work nearer hand; to resist the Turks invasion in Europe. Hark how the Grecians call unto us, as once \* the man in the vision did to S. Paul, Come over into Macedonia, and help us. Yea, look on the Popes projects of the last Edition, and we shall find the business of the Sepulchre buried in silence, and the Holy warre running in another chanel, against the Turks in Christendome.

4. Lastly, who is not sensible with sorrow of the dissensions (better suiting with my prayers then my penne) where-with Christian Princes at this day are rent in sunder: wounds so wide that onely Heavens chirurgerie can heal them: Till which time no hope of a Holy warre against the generall and common foe of our Religion.

\* *Acts* 16. 9.

We may safely conclude, that the regaining of Jerusalem and the Holy land from the Turks; may better be placed amongst our desires then our hopes; as improbable ever to come to passe: except the Platonick yeare, turning the wheel of all actions round about, bring the spoke of this Holy warre back again.

## Chap. 29.

## Of the many Pretenders of titles to the Kingdome of Jerusalem.

NO Kingdome in the world is challenged at this day by such an armie of Kings as this of Jerusalem. It is sooner told what Princes of Europe do not, then what do lay claim to it; they be so many. Take their names as I find them in the Catalogue of Stephen a Cypriot.

- 1 The Emperour of the East.
- 2 The Patriarch of Jerusalem.
- 3 The Lusignans, Kings of Cyprus.
- 4 Emfred Prince of Thorone.
- 5 Conrade de la-Rame Marquesse of Montferrat.
- 6 The Kings of England.
- 7 His Holinesse.
- 8 The Kings of Naples.
- 9 The Princes of Antioch.
- 10 The Counts of Brienne.
- 11 The Kings of Armenia.
- 12 The Kings of Hungarie.
- 13 The Kings of Aragon.
- 14 The Dukes of Amjou.
- 15 The Dukes of Loraine.
- 16 Lewis the eleventh, King of France.
- 17 The Dukes of Bourbon.
- 18 The Dukes of Savoy.
- 19 James de Lusigna, base Sonne to the King of Cyprus.
- 20 Charles de Lusigna, Sonne to the Prince of Galilee.
- 21 The State of Genoa.
- 22 The Marquesse of Montferrat.
- 23 The Count of la-Vall.
- 24 The Arch-duke of Nize.
- 25 The Sultan of Egypt.
- 26 The Emperour of the Turks.

It seemeth by the naming of Lewis the eleventh and James the bastard of Cyprus, that this list was taken about the  
yeare

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year 1466. And now how would a Herald sweat with scouring over these time-rustie titles, to shew whence these Princes derived their severall claims, and in whom the right resteth at this day? & when his work is done, who should pay him his wages?

My ciew of thread is not strong enough, on the guidance thereof for me to venture into this labyrinth of Pedegrees; we will content our selves with these generall observations:

1. It seemeth this catalogue containeth as well those who had *jus in Regno* as those who had *jus ad Regnum*: as namely, the Prince of Thorone, and Patriarchs of Jerusalem, and State of Genoa; whose ambition surely soared not so high as to claim the Kingdome of Jerusalem, but rather perched it self upon some lands and Signories challenged therein.

2. A small matter will serve to intitle a Prince to a titular Kingdome: In this case, Kings can better digest corrivals where they be many, and all challenge what is worth nothing. In this catalogue it seemeth some onely intitle themselves out of good fellowship and love of good companie: These like squirrels recover themselves, and climbe up to a claim on the least bough, twig, yea leaf of a Right. Thus the Counts of Brienne in France (if any still remain of that house) gave away their cake and kept it still; in that John Bren parted with his right to this Kingdome, in match with Iole his daughter, to Frederick the second Emperour, and yet the Earls of his familie pretend still to Jerusalem.

3. We may beleeve, that by matches and under-matches some of these titles may reside in private Gentlemen; especially in France: And what wonder? seeing within fourteen generations, the \* royall bloud of the Kings of Judah ran in the veins of plain Joseph a painfull carpenter.

4. At this day some of those titles are finally extinct: as that of the Emperours of the East, conquered by the Ottoman familie: Their Imperiall Eagle was so farre from beholding the sunne, that the half-moon dazzled, yea quite put out his eyes. Rank in the same form: the Kings of Armenia; and Sultans of Egypt.

5. Some of these titles are transland: That of the Lusignans, Kings of Cyprus; probably passed with that Island to the State of Venice; The claim of the Hungarian Kings seemeth at this day to remain in the German Emperour.

6. Some united: The claim of the Arch-dukes of Nize (a style I meet not with elsewhere) twisted with that of the Duke of Savoy; The Kings of Naples and Aragon now joyned in the King of Spain.

7. Of those which are extant at this day, Englands appeareth first, our Richard receiving it in exchange of King Guy for the Island of Cyprus. Guy's resignation was voluntarie  
and

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\* *Sabellicus, Enchirid. 9. lib. 5. pag. 378.*  
\* *In his Pro-  
eme, fol. 5.*

and publick, the world was witnesse to it: He truly received a valuable consideration, which his heirs long peaceably enjoyed, and our English Kings styled themselves \* Kings of Jerusalem, till afterwards they disused it for \* reasons best known to themselves. Our Poet Harding, in a paper he presented to King Henry the sixth, cleareth another double title of our Kings thereunto: And because some palates love the mouldie best, and place the goodnesse of old verses in the badnesse of them, take them as they fell from his penne;

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*To Jerusalem, I say, ye have great right  
From Erle Geffray that high Plantagenet,  
Of Anjouery Erle, a Prince of passing might,  
The eldest sonne of Fouke, and first beget,  
King of Jerusalem by his wife dewly set,  
Whose sonne Geffray foresaid gat on his wife  
Henry the second, that was known full rife.*

*Tet have ye more, from Bawldwyne Paralytious  
King afterward, to the same King Henry  
The Crown sent and his Banner pretious,  
As very heire of whole Ancestrie  
Descent of blood by ritle lineally  
From Godfray Boleyn, and Robert Carthose,  
That Kings were thereof and chose.*

3. Then cometh forth the Popes title; who claimeth it many wayes: Either because he was the first and chiefeft mover and advancer of this warre, Lord Paramount of this action, and all the Pilgrimes no better then his servants; and then according to the rule in Civil law, \* *Quodcumque per servum acquiratur, id Domino acquiritur suo*: Or else he challengeth it from John Bren: who \* subjected that Kingdome to the See of Rome; and yet the said John used the style of Jerusalem all the dayes of his life; and also gave it away in match with his daughter: Or else he deriveth it as forfeited to him by the Emperour Frederick the second and his sonnes, for taking arms against the Church. But what need these farre-about: They go the shortest cut, who accounting the Pope Gods Lieutenant on earth (though by a Commission of his own penning) give him a temporall power (especially in *ordine ad spirituales*) over all the Kingdomes of the world.

The originall right of Jerusalem he still keepeth in himself, yet hath successively gratified many Princes with a title derived from him: Nor shineth his candle the dimmer by lighting of others. First he bestowed his title on Charles of Anjou,

King

\* *Institus. Lib. 1. tit. 8. §. 1.*  
\* *Knulls, Hist. Turke pag. 123.*

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King of Sicilie (from which root spring the many-branched French competitor) and since hath conferred the same on the house of Aragon, or King of Spain. Which King alone weareth it in his style at this day, and maketh continuall warre with the Turk, who detaineth Jerusalem from him: Yea, all West-Christendome oweth her quiet sleep to his constant waking, who with his galleys muzzleth the mouth of Tunis and Algier. Yea, God in his providence hath so ordered it, that the Dominions of Catholick Princes (as they term them) are the case and cover on the East and South to keep and sence the Protestant countreys.

The quit-rent which the King of Spain payeth yearly to the Pope for the Kingdomes of Jerusalem, Naples, and Sicilie, is foure thousand crowns, sent to his Holinesse upon a \* hackney: Who grudgeth his tenant so great a penie-worth; yet cannot help himself, except he would follow the Friars advice, To send home the Spanish Hackney with a great Horse after him. What credit there is to be given to that through-old (if not doting) prophetic, That a \* Spaniard shall one day recover Jerusalem, we leave to the censure of others; and mean time we will conclude more serious matters with this pleasant passage:

When the late warres in the dayes of Queen \* Elisabeth were hot between England and Spain, there were Commissioners on both sides appointed to treat of peace. They met at a town of the French Kings: and first it was debated, what tongue the negotiation should be handled in. A Spaniard, thinking to give the English Commissioners a shrewd gird, proposed the French tongue as most fit, it being a language which the Spaniards were well skilled in; and for these Gentlemen of England, I suppose (said he) that they cannot be ignorant of the language of their fellow-subjects; their Queen is Queen of France as well as England. Nay in faith, Masters, (replied Doctor Dale, the Master of Requests) the French tongue is too vulgar for a businesse of this secrecie and importance, especially in a French town: we will rather treat in Hebrew the language of Jerusalem, whereof your Master is King; I suppose you are herein as well skilled as we in French.

At this day the Turk hath eleven points of the law in Jerusalem, I mean possession: and which is more, prescription of a hundred and twentie yeares, if you date it from the time it came into the Ottoman familie; but farre more, if you compute it from such time as the Mammeluke Turks have enjoyed it. Yea, likely they are to keep it, being good at hold-fast, and who will as soon lose their teeth as let go their prey. With

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\* *St Edwin Sandys, View of the west world, pag. 137.*

\* *Centuriatones, Cent. 13. cap. 16. col. 692.*

\* *Heylin, Microcosm. in Palestina.*

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the description of the greatnesse of which Empire will we ( God willing ) now close this Historie.

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## Chap. 30.

*Of the greatnesse, strength, wealth, and wants of the Turkish Empire; What hopes of the approaching ruine thereof.*

**T**He Turkish Empire is the greatest and best-compacted (not excepting the Romane it self in the height thereof) that the sunne ever saw. Take sea and land together (as bones and flesh make up one bodie) and from Buda in the West to Tauris in the East, it stretcheth about three thousand miles: little lesse is the extent thereof North and South. It lieth in the heart of the world, like a bold champion bidding defiance to all his borderers, commanding the most fruitfull countreys of Europe, Asia, and Africa: Onely America (not more happie in her rich mines then in her remotenesse) lieth free from the reach thereof.

Populous it is not; for men will never grow thick where meat groweth thinne: It lieth waste, according to the old proverb, Grass springeth not where the Grand Signors horse setteth his foot. Besides, a third part (I may say, half) of those in Turkie are not Turks, but either Jews or Christians.

The strength of this Empire consisteth either in bones or stones, men or munition. Of the first, The best stake in the Turks hedge is his great number of Horsemen called \* Timariots, conceived to exceed seven hundred thousand fighting men: These are dispersed over all his Dominions, and have lands allotted unto them in reward of their good service and valour, much in the nature of those souldiers of the Romish Empire called *Beneficarii*. And indeed the Turkish Empire resembleth the Romane in many particulars: not that they ever studied imitation, and by reading of Historie conformed their State to Romane precedents, (farre be it from us to wrong them with the false imputation of so much learning) but rather casually they have met in some common principles of policie. Of these Timariots, on occasion and competent warning, he can bring into the field an hundred and fiftie thousand, all bound by the tenure of their lands to arm, clothe, feed, pay themselves: So great an armie, which

\* Knollys, in his description of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

which would drain the wealth of other Princes, doth cost the great Turk no drop of expense.

Next follow his best footmen, called Janizaries, taken young from their Christian parents (parallel to the Romane Pretorian souldiers) being the guard of the Grand Signors person. But as they watch about him, so he casteth a watchfull eye on them; seeing of late they are grown from painfull to be proud, yea insolent and intolerable: it being true of these Janizaries in the Turkish Empire, as of Elephants in an armie; If well ruled, they alone are enough to winne the battle; if unruly, they alone are enough to lose it. As for all other sorts of the Turks, both foot and horse, they are but slugs; as whom the Grand Signor little trusteth, and others need lesse fear.

His frontier cities, especially those which respect Christendome, are exactly fortified. Rank with these such places of importance and castles as command passages of consequence. As for his inland-cities, there is no superfluous, scarce competent, strength in them. But if we allow those people to be chaste who never were solicited to be otherwise, then may many cities lying in the bowels of his Empire passe for strong, which for a long time have not had nor in haste are likely to have the temptation of a siege.

Of Ordinance he hath great store; and hath excellent materials to make them of; and is also very powerfull in shipping. Indeed ships of great burden would be burdensome in those narrow seas, and experience hath found lesser vessels of greater use, whereof he hath store. And though the Turks either want ingenie or industrie, either care not or cannot be good shipwrights themselves, yet the spite is, as long as there is gold amongst the Turks there will be drosse amongst the Christians, I mean some who for base gain will betray the mysteries of our usefull arts unto them. As for wood to build with, he hath excellent in Bithynia; yea, generally in this wild Empire, trees grow better then men. To his sea-munition may be reduced his multitude of slaves, though not the informing yet (against their wills) the assisting form of his Gallies, and in whom consisteth a great part of their strength and swiftnesse.

Nor must we forget the Pirates of Tunis and Algier, which are Turks and no Turks: Sometimes the Grand Signor disclaimeth, renounceth and casteth them off to stand upon their own bottom; as when those Christian Princes which are confederate with him, complain to him of the wrongs those sea-robbers have done them. But though he sendeth them out to seek their own meat, he can clock them under his wings

at pleasure: And we may verily beleieve, though sometimes in the summer of his own prosperitie he throweth them off as an upper garment of no use, yet in cold weather he will buckle them on again; and if necessitie pincheth him, receive them not as retainers at large but as his best servants in ordinarie.

Nor is it the last and least part of the strength of this Empire, that all her native people are linked together in one religion: The discords about which in other kingdoms have been the cause, first of the unjoynting, and then of the finall ruine & desolation of many worthy States: Whereas here, the Mahometane religion (if I wrong it not with so good a name) is so full of unitie and agreement, that there is no difference & dissension about it. Yea, well may that coat have no seam which hath no shape. A senselesse ignorant profession it is, not able to go to the cost of a controversie: And all colours may well agree in the dark.

Next the strength followeth the wealth; yea, it is part thereof: For all rich Kingdomes may be strong, and purchase artificiall fortification. The certain and constant revenues of the great Turk are not great, if withall we consider the spaciousnesse of his Dominions. Some have mounted his ordinarie yearly in-come to eight \* millions of gold. But men guesse by uncertain aim at Princes revenues, especially if they be so remote: We may beleieve that in their conjecture herein, though they misse the mark, they hit the butt. Farre greater might his *intrado* be, if husbandrie, and chiefly merchandise, were plied in his countrey: merchants being the *Vena porta* of a Kingdom; without which it may have good limbes, but emptie veins, and nourish little. Now although this Empire be of a vast extent, having many safe harbours to receive strangers there, and Staple commodities (chiefly if industrie were used) to allure them thither; yet hath it in effect but foure prime places of trading; Constantinople, Cairo, Aleppo, and Tauris. As for the extraordinarie revenues of the Grand Signor, by his escheats and other courses if he pleaseth to take them, they are a *Nemo scit*: For in effect he is worth as much as all his subjects (or slaves rather) throughout his whole Empire are worth, his sponges to squeeze at pleasure.

But the Lion is not so fierce as he is painted, nor this Empire so formidable as fame giveth it out. The Turks head is lesse then his turbant, and his turbant lesse then it seemeth; swelling without, hollow within. If more seriously it be considered, this State cannot be strong, which is a pure and absolute tyrannie. His subjects under him have nothing certain but this, That they have nothing certain; and may thank the Grand Signor for giving them whatsoever he taketh not away from them. Their goods they hold by permission not proprietie;

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not sure that either they or theirs shall reap what they sow, or eat what they reap: and hereupon husbandrie is wholly neglected: For the plowman (as well as the ground he ploweth) will be soon out of heart, if not maintained (as I may say) composted with hopes to receive benefit by his labours. Here great officers, if they love themselves, must labour not to be beloved: for popularitie is high treason; and generally wealth is a sinne to be expiated by death. In a word, it is a cruel tyrannie, bathed in the blood of their Emperours upon every succession; a heap of vassals and slaves; no Nobles (except for time being, by office) no Gentlemen, no Free-men, no inheritance of land, no Stir or ancient families; a nation without any, morallitie, arts and sciences, that can scarce measure an acte of land or houre of a day.

And needeth not that Kingdom constant and continued pointing, which is cemented with fear not love? May we not justly think, that there be many in this Empire which rather wait a time then want desire to overthrow it? For though some think the Grecians in Turkie bear such inveterate hate to the Latine Christians, that they would rather refuse deliverance then accept them for their deliverers; yet surely both they, and perchance some native Turks, out of that principle of desiring libertie (the second rule next preserving life in the charter of Nature) would be made (if this Empire were seriously invaded, so that the foundation thereof did totter) sooner to find two hands, to pluck it down then one finger to hold it up.

And we have just cause to hope that the fall of this unwelddie Empire doth approach. It was high noon with it fiftie yeares ago; we hope now it draweth neare night: the rather, because luxurie, though late, yet at last hath found the Turks out, or they it. When first they came out of Turcomania, and were in their pure naturals, they were wonderfully abstemious, neglecting all voluptuousnesse, not so much out of a dislike as ignorance of it: But now having tasted the sweetness of the cup, they can drink as great a draught as any others. That Paradise of corporall pleasure which Mahomet promised them in the world to come, they begin to anticipate here, at leastwise to take earnest of it, and have well foked themselves in luxurie. Yea, now they begin to grow covetous, both Prince and people, rather seeking to enjoy their means with quiet then enlarge them with danger.

Heaven can as easily blast an oak as trample a mushrome. And we may expect the ruine of this great Empire will come: for of late it hath little increased its stock, and now beginneth to spend of the principall. It were arrant presumption for

for Flesh to prescribe God his way; or to teach him, when he meaneth to shoot, which arrow in his quiver to choose. Perchance the Western Christians, or the Grecians under him (though these be better for seconds than firsts, fitter to foment than raise a faction) or his own Janizaries, or the Persian, or the Tartarian, or some other obscure Prince not as yet come into play in the World, shall have the lustre from God to maul this great Empire. It is more then enough for any man to set down the fate of a single soul; much more to resolve the doom of a whole nation when it shall be. These things we leave to Providence to work, and posteritie to behold. As for our generation, let us sooner expect the dissolutions of our own Microcosmes then the confusion of this Empire: For neither are our own sinnes yet truly repented of, to have this punishment removed from us; nor the Turks wickednesse yet come to the full ripenesse, to have this great judgement laid upon them.

*Anno  
Dom.*

*Soli Deo gloria.*



## The Preface to the Chronologie.



*Herein I present the Reader with a generall view and synopsis of the whole story of the age of the Holy Warre; that he may see the coherence betwixt the East and the West, and in what equipage and correspondency of time the Asian affairs go on with those of Europe: for they will reflect a mutuall lustre and plainnesse on one another.*

*The Chronologie is marshalled into Ranks & Files: The Ranks, or transverse spaces, contain twentie yeares on a side; the Files, or columns directly downward, are appropriated to those severall States whose name they bear.*

*In the six first columnes I have followed Helvicus with an implicite faith, without any remarkable alteration, both in ingrafting of yeares and making them concurre, as also leaving sometimes empty spaces. In the other columnes I have followed severall authours, and left the yeares unnoted where the time was uncertain; counting it better to bring in an Ignoramus then to find a verdict where the evidence was doubtfull and obscure.*

*Such long notes as would not be imprisoned within the grates of this Chronology, we have referred by asterisks to the foot of the page.*

*Know that every note belongeth to that yeare wherein it beginneth, except signed with this mark ∞; which reduceth it to the yeare it endeth in.*

*Br. standeth for Brother: S. Sonne: M. Moneths: D. Dayes. Note, whilst there were Caliphs of Egypt, then the Sultans were but Deputies and Lieutenants; but afterwards the Mameluke Sultans were absolute Princes, acknowledging no Superior.*

# A Chronologicall

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy Warre, & Kings of Ierusalem.
1095	URBANE the second.	ALEXIUS COMNENUS.	HENRY the fourth.	WILLIAM RUFUS.	PHILIP the first.	The Council of Clermont foundeth the Holy Warre.
6	9	16	41	9	37	1. VOYAGE under GODFREY Duke of Bouillon.
7	10	17	42	10	38	Nice,
8	11	18	43	11	39	Antioch, } wonne by the Christians.
9	M. D. 185	19	44	12	40	Ierusalem,
1100	PASCHAL the second.		45	13	41	GODFREY King of Ierusalem.
1	3	21	46	HENRY the first.	42	BAWDINE his brother.
2	4	22	47		43	2. VOYAGE under several Princes & Prelates.
3	5	23	48		44	Apamia, Laodicea,
4	6	24	49		45	Ptolemais,
5	7	25	M. 10		46	
6	8	26	HENRY the fifth.	1	47	wonne by the Christians.
7	9	27	2	7	48	
8	10	28	3	8	49	
9	11	29	4		LEWIS the Groffe.	2 Tripolis,
1110	12	30	5	10	3	Berytus, Sidon
1	13	31	6	11	4	
2	14	32	7	12	5	
3	15	33	8	13	6	
4	16	34	9	14	7	

# Table.

				Caliphs of Syria.	Caliphs of Egypt.
				MUSTATAMER	MUSTAL I
				2	2
				3	3
				4	4
				5	5
				6	6
				7	ELAMER, S. I
				8	2
				9	3
				10	4
				11	5
				12	6
				13	7
				14	8
				15	9
				16	10
				17	11
				18	12
				19	13
				20	14

Princes of Antioch.

BOEMUND. I

Patriarchs of Antioch.

Patriarchs of Ierusalem.

M<sup>n</sup> of Kn. Hospitallers.

He is taken captive. Tancred amongst the State in his absence.

BERNARD.

I. ARNULPHUS M. 5  
II. DABERTUS.  
2 He sticketh for Ierusalem, to get it from the King:

I. GERARD. I  
2

Boemund ransomed.

4

3

3

He unfortunately becometh Charras; Travelleth into France;

7

5 Flieth to Antioch;

2

Returneth and wasteth Grecia with his navie.

10

6 Thence to Rome:  
11. BERNARDUS put in by the King, displaced by the Pope.  
Dieth in Sicily.

3

BOEMUND the second, S. et a child, and living in Apulia: an whole minority, first Tancred, then Roger his kinsman, were Princes in trust.

11

9 IV. GIBELLINUS, Archbishop of Arles.

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# A Chronological

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy warre, and Kings of Jerusalem.
1115	17	35	10	15	8	15
6	18	36	11	16	9	16
7	M. 52 D. 95	37	12	17	10	17
8	GELASIVS D. 5.	1 CALO-JO- HANNES S.	13	18	11	Baldwines voyages in- to Egypt 1. when he took Pharamia 2. when he got his death.
9		2	14	19	12	Baldwines the second, his kinsman.
1120	CALIXTUS the second.	3	15	20	13	
1		4	16	21	14	
2		5	17	22	15	He fighteth on disad- vantage with the Turks, and is taken captive.
3		6	18	23	16	
4	M. 10 D. 13	7	M. 9	24	17	He is dearly ransomed, lyre taken by the Christians
5	HONORIUS the second.	8	LOTHARI- us the Sax- on.	25	18	Baldwine getteth so much poil from the conquered Turks as serveth to pay his ransome.
6		9	2	26	19	
7		10	3	27	20	
8		11	4	28	21	
9	M. 2 D. 3	12	5	29	22	
1130	INNOCENTI- us the second.	13	6	30	23	
1		14	7	31	24	*
2		15	8	32	25	Fulk Earl of Anjou in right of Millicent his wife, eldest daughter to K. Baldwin.
3		16	9	33	26	
4		17	10	34	27	

\* Anno 1131. Helvicus giveth Baldwin the second sixteen years: but herein he is deceived as also in allowing King Fulk but eight. We, according to the content of the best Authours, have given the former thirteen, the latter six.

# Table A

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Jerusalem.	Popes of Rome.	Caliphs of Syria.	Caliphs of Egypt.
7	16	4	11	13	21
8	17	14	22		16
9	18	6	15		17
10	19	7	16	M. of Kn. Templars.	18
11	20	1	17	HUGO de Paganis, & GODFRID of S. Ours	19
12	21	2	18	2	20
13	22	3	19	3	21
14	23	4	20	4	22
15	24	5	21	5	23
16	25	6	22	6	24
17	26	7	23	7	25
18	27	8	24	8	26
19	28	9	25	9	27
20	29	1	26	10	28
21	30	2	27	1	29
He is surpris- ed and slain in Cilicia.	31	1	28	2	30
Alice the Re- lict of Boe- mund, Princeffe Regent in the minoritie of Constantia her daughter.	32	2	29	3	31
	33	3	30	4	32
	34	4	31		33
	35	5	32		34

# A Chronological

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy warre, and Kings of Jerusalem.
1115	17	35	10	15	8	15
6	18	36	11	16	9	16
7	M. 12 D. 95	37	12	17	10	17
8	GELASIVS D. 5.	CAZO-JO- HANNES S.	13	18	11	18
9		2	14	19	12	19
1120	CALIXTUS the second.	3	15	20	13	20
1	4	5	16	21	14	21
2	5	6	17	22	15	22
3	6	7	18	23	16	23
4	M. 10 D. 13	8	19	24	17	24
5	HONORIUS the second.	9	20	25	18	25
6	10	11	21	26	19	26
7	11	12	22	27	20	27
8	12	13	23	28	21	28
9	13	14	24	29	22	29
1130	INNOCENTI- us the second.	15	25	30	23	30
1	16	26	31	24	24	31
2	17	27	32	25	25	32
3	18	28	33	26	26	33
4	19	29	34	27	27	34

\* Anno 1131. Helvicus giveth Baldwin the second sixteen years: but herein he is deceived as also in allowing King Fulk bareight. We, according to the content of the best Authours, have given the former thirteen, the latter ten.

# Table A

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Jerusalem.	Popes of Rome.	Caliphs of Syria.	Caliphs of Egypt.
7	16	4	13	21	15
8	17	5	14	22	16
9	18	6	15	23	17
10	19	7	16	24	18
11	20	8	17	25	19
12	21	9	18	26	20
13	22	10	19	27	21
14	23	11	20	28	22
15	24	12	21	29	23
16	25	13	22	30	24
17	26	14	23	31	25
18	27	15	24	32	26
19	28	16	25	33	27
20	29	17	26	34	28
21	30	18	27	35	29
22	31	19	28	36	30
23	32	20	29	37	31
24	33	21	30	38	32
25	34	22	31	39	33
26	35	23	32	40	34

# A Chronologicall

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy Warre; & Kings of Ierusalem.	
1135	6	18	11	35	28		4
6	7	19	12	STEPHEN the Usurper.	29		5
7	8	20	13		30		6
8	9	21	CONRADUS the third.	1	LEWIS the seventh, or the Younger.		7
9	10	22	2	4	2		8
1140	11	23	3	5	3		9
1	12	24	4	6	4		10
2	13	M. 7	5	7	5	BALDWIN the third, S. Edeffa wonne by Sanguine from the Christians.	1
3	M. 7 D. 8	EMANUEL Comnenus, I	6	8	6		2
4	CELESTINE the second, M. 5	2	7	9	7		3
5	LUcius the second. M. 11	3	8	10	8		4
6	EUGENIUS the third.	4	9	11	9		5
7	2	5	10	12	10	3. VOYAGE under Conrade the Emperour, & Lewis King of France.	6
8	3	6	11	13	11	Damascus besieged in vain.	7
9	4	7	12	14	12	Discords betwixt Baldwin and his mother Millicent.	8
1150	5	8	13	15	13		9
1	6	9	14	16	14		10
2	7	10	FREDERICUS Barbarossa.	17	15		11
3	M. 4 D. 12	11	2	18	16		12
4	ANASTASIUS the fourth. M. 4 D. 24	12	3	19	17	Baldwine taketh the cite of Askelon.	13

# Table.

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Ierusalem.	M <sup>rs</sup> of Kn. Hospitallers.	M <sup>rs</sup> of Kn. Templars.	Caliphs of Syria.	Caliphs of Egypt.
5	36	6	33		MUCTAPHIL S. to Mufte-I taker.	35
REIMUND Earl of Poitou, knight of Constance his wife. He acknowledgeth himself vassall to the Grecian Emperour; and resigneth Cilicia to him.	1 RODULPHUS chosen Patriarch by the Laitie.	2	7	34	2	1 EIMAPHIT, S. In the 20 yearre of his reigne he was killed by one Nofradine. Vide Tyr. lib. 18. cap. 49. & Calvis in Anno 1146.
	3	3	9	36	3	2
	4	4	10	37	4	3
					5	4
	5	5	11	38	6	5
	6	6	12	39	7	6
	7	ALMERICUS	13	40	8	7
	8	2	14	41	9	8
	9	3	15	42	10	9
	10	4	16	43	11	10
	11	5	17	44	12	11
He honourably entertaineth the K. of Fran. Is slain in battel by Noradine.	12	6	18	45	13	12
	13	7	19	46	14	13
CONSTANTIA his wife. Princefle.	14	8	20	47	15	14
	15	9	21	48	16	15
	16	10	22	49	17	16
	17	11	23	50	18	17
	18	12	24	51	19	18
RAINOLD of Castile marryeth Constantia, and is Prince. in her right.	19	13	25	52	20	19



# A Chronological

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holywarre, and Kings of Jerusalem.
1155	ADRIAN the fourth. 2	13	4	HENRY the second. 1	18	14
6	3	14	5	2	19	15
7	4	15	6	3	20	16
8	M. 82 D. 185	16	7	4	21	17
9	ALEXANDER the third. 1	17	8	5	22	18
1160	2	18	9	6	23	Order of the Carmelites first begun in Syria. 19
1	3	19	10	7	24	20
2	4	20	11	8	25	21
3	5	21	12	9	26	ALMERICK his Br. 1
4	6	22	13	10	27	2
5	7	23	14	11	28	3
6	8	24	15	12	29	At the instance of Sultan Saner he goeth into Egypt, and driveth out Syracon, Cefarea-Philippi lost. 4
7	9	25	16	13	30	5
8	10	26	17	14	31	Almerick contrary to his promise invadeth Egypt. 6
9	11	27	18	15	32	7
1170	12	28	19	16	33	He taketh a voyage into Grecia, to visit the Emperour his kinsman. 8
1	13	29	20	17	34	9
2	14	30	21	18	35	10
3	15	31	22	19	36	11
4	16	32	23	20	37	BALDWIN the fourth. 1

# Table.

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Jerusalem.	M <sup>n</sup> of Kn. Hospitallers.	M <sup>n</sup> of Kn. Templars.	Caliphs of Syria.	Caliphs of Egypt.
He, to despite the Grecian Emperour, wasteth the island Cyprus. 2	Almerick cruelly tormented for speaking a-I against Pr. Reinolds marriage. 14	In vain he crawleth to Rome to complain of them. 12	53	BERTRAND de Blanchfort. 1	21	20
			*	54	22	21
			13	II. AUGER-rius de Balben. 3	23	22
			14	He is taken prisoner, Tyr. Lib. 2. 25	24	23
			1	PHILIP of Naples. 1	25	24
		X. AMALRICUS Prior of the Sepulchre. 2		Afterward he renounceth his place, Tyr. lib. 20. f. 24.	26	25
Reinold carried captive to Aleppo. 8	He prescribeth rules to the Carmelites. 21	III. ARNOLDUS de Campis. 3		MUSTENEGED. 1	27	26
BERMUND the third, St. Reinold. 1		4			28	27
		5			29	28
		6			30	29
		7			31	30
He is conquered and taken prisoner; ransometh himself. 5		8			32	31
		9			33	32
		10			34	33
		11			35	34
		12			36	35
		13			37	36
		14			38	37
		15			39	38
		16			40	39
		17			41	40
		18			42	41
		19			43	42
		20			44	43
		21			45	44
		22			46	45
		23			47	46
		24			48	47
		25			49	48
		26			50	49
		27			51	50
		28			52	51
		29			53	52
		30			54	53
		31			55	54
		32			56	55
		33			57	56
		34			58	57
		35			59	58
		36			60	59
		37			61	60
		38			62	61
		39			63	62
		40			64	63
		41			65	64
		42			66	65
		43			67	66
		44			68	67
		45			69	68
		46			70	69
		47			71	70
		48			72	71
		49			73	72
		50			74	73
		51			75	74
		52			76	75
		53			77	76
		54			78	77
		55			79	78
		56			80	79
		57			81	80
		58			82	81
		59			83	82
		60			84	83
		61			85	84
		62			86	85
		63			87	86
		64			88	87
		65			89	88
		66			90	89
		67			91	90
		68			92	91
		69			93	92
		70			94	93
		71			95	94
		72			96	95
		73			97	96
		74			98	97
		75			99	98
		76			100	99

\* 1156. This catalogue of the Masters of the Hospitallers I find in Hospinian, *De origine Monachatus*. It seemeth strange this Nestor Rodulphus should govern his Order 54 years; yet it appeareth to be so, if we compare Tyrinus, lib. 14. cap. 6.

# A Chronological

Ann <sup>o</sup> Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy Warre, & Kings of Jerusalem.
1175	17	33	24	21	38	
6	18	34	25	22	39	William Marqueste of Montferat married Sibyll the Kings sister.
7	19	35	26	23	40	Saladine shamefully conquered at Askelon.
8	20	36	27	24	41	
9	21	37	28	25	42	Fatall jealousies betwixt the King and Reimund Prince of Tripoli for many years.
1180	M. 11 D. 29	ALEXIUS COMMENI.	29	26	PHILIP Augustus, S.	
1	LUCIUS the third.	2	30	27	2	
2	2	ANDRONICUS, S.	31	28	3	
3	3	2	32	29	4	Baldwine disabled with leprose retireth himself from managing the State.
4	4	M. 11	33	30	5	
5	M. 3 D. 28	ISAACIUS ANGELUS.	34	31	6	BALDWIN the fifth, after eight months poisoned.
6	M. 10 D. 25	2	35	32	7	GUY de Lusignan in right of Sibyll his wife.
7	GREGORY the eighth. M. 1. D. 17.	3	36	33	8	CONRADE Marqueste of Montferat won by Saladine.
8	CLEMENT the third.	4	37	34	9	defendeth Tyre, and is chosen King.
9	2	5	38	M. 7. RICHARD the first.	10	34. VOYAGE under Frederick furnamed Barbarossa.
1190	3	6	HENRY the sixth, S.	1	11	5. VOYAGE Rich. of Engl. under Philip of Fran.
1	M. 2 D. 10	7	2	3	12	Conrad murdered in the market-place of Tyre.
2	CELESTINE the third.	8	3	4	13	Ptolemais taken.
3	3	9	4	5	14	Guy exchanged his Kingdome of Jerusalem for Cyprus.
4	4	M. 7. ALEXIUS COMMENI, ANGELIUS.	5	6	15	HENRY Earl of Champaigoe.

# Table.

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Jerusalem.	M <sup>rs</sup> of Kn. Hospitallers.	M <sup>rs</sup> of Kn. Templars.		Caliphs of Syria.	Turkish K. of Egypt.
14	34	17				6	
15	35	18	VIII. ROGER de Moris.			7	
Reinold of Castile, once Prince of Antioch, ransomed from captivity.	16	36	19			8	Hegemeth Damalca & the whole Turkish kingdome in Syria, (Tyr. lib. 21. c. 6.) in despite of
	17	37	20	ARNOLDUS de Tiroge, Tyr. lib. 22. c. 7.		9	
	18	38	21			10	
Boemund by putting away Theodora his lawfull wife, causeth much trouble in this State.	19	39	22			NARZAI, S.	Noradinet Loane. These great figures reckon Saladines reign of 16 years (for so many Authors give him) his his feeling of the kingdome of Damalc. But if we count his reign from the killing of the Egyptian Caliph, he began far sooner
	20	40	XI. HERACLIUS, Archbish. of Cesarea.	1		2	
	21	41		2		3	
	22	42		3		4	
	23	43		4	He dieth in an Embassie to the Princes in Europe.	5	
	24	44	He travel- leth into the West, cometh into Eng- land, con- secrateth the Tem- ple-church in Londō, & return- eth with- out any aid	5	He went with Heraclius into the West, returneth :	GERARDUS RIDFORD.	6
	25	Antioch by the Pa- triarch be- trayed to Saladine.	45	6	He is slain in a battel neare Ptolemais.	7	
	26		46	7	He is taken prisoner. TERICUS, Master of the Templars du- ring Gerards durance. Gerard is set at libertie, and slain in the siege of Ptolemais.	8	
	27	*		8		M <sup>rs</sup> of Dutch Knights	9
	28			9			10
Antioch wonne againe f <sup>r</sup> o the Turks by Frederick D. of Suevia.			10			HENRY I a-Wal- pot.	11
			11			2	12
The time of Boemunds death is as uncertain as who was his Successour; only we find from this time forward, the same Princes (but without name or certain date) Ryled both of Antioch & Tri- poli.					*	3	13
		He lived vic- iously, and died obscurely.				4	14
		*		X. ERMEGAR- DUS DAPS.		5	15
							SAPHADINE, Br. to Sala- dine.

\* 1188. That Antioch was betrayed by a Patriarch, is plain by Sabellicus : but whether Almericus was this traitor-Patriarch, or whether it was done by the Grecian Antipatriarch, is uncertain. Here we cease that column, as despairing to continue their succession any longer.

\* 1191. Here is a subject for industry to deserve well, in filling up the *vacua* of the Masters of the Templars, from the death of Gerard till the year 1215, whose names we cannot find.

\* 1193. Hitherto the succession of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem is accurately collected out of Tyrinus. The Order of those which follow, is not so authentick, being caught as we might out of severall Authors.

# A Chronological

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy Warre, & Kings of Jerusalem.
1195	5	2	6	7	16	3
6	6	3	7	8	17	1
7	N. 92 D. 115	4	8	9	18	2
8	INNOCENTIVS the third.	5	9	10	19	3
9	2	6	10	11	20	4
1200	3	7	2	JOHN his Br.	21	5
1	4	8	3	2	22	6
2	ISAACIVS again with ALEXIVS his S.	9	4	3	23	7
3	6 BALDWIN Earl of Flandres.	1	5	4	24	8
4	7	2	6	5	25	9
5	8 HENRY his Br.	1	7	6	26	10
6	9	2	8	7	27	11
7	10	3	9	8	28	12
8	11	4	10	9	29	13
9	12	5	11	10	30	14
1210	13	6	12	11	31	15
1	14	7	13	12	32	16
2	15	8	FREDERICK the second.	13	33	17
3	16	9	2	14	34	18
4	17	10	3	15	35	19

# Table.

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Jerusalem.	M <sup>rs</sup> of Kn. Hospitallers.	M <sup>rs</sup> of Kn. Templars.	M <sup>rs</sup> of Dutch Knights.	Caliphs of Syria.	Turkish Kings of Egypt.
				6	16	3
				7	17	4
				8	18	5
				9	19	6
				10	20	7
				11	21	8
				12	22	9
				13	23	10
				14	24	11
				15	25	12
				16	26	13
				17	27	14
				18	28	15
				19	29	16
				20	30	17
				21	31	18
				22	32	19
				23	33	20
				24	34	21
				25	35	22

# A Chronological

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy warre, and Kings of Jerusalem.
1215	18	II	4	16	36	The great Laterane Council, to advance the Holy warre.
6	M. 6 <sup>th</sup> D. 9 <sup>th</sup>	PETER Earl of Auxerre.	1	5	17	37
7	HONORIUS the third.	2	2	HENRY the third, 6 <sup>th</sup>	1	38
8	3	3	7	2	39	Damiata } besieged.
9	4	4	8	3	40	} taken.
1220	5	5	9	4	41	The Christians intrapped in water, restore Damiata for their libertie; and conclude an eight-yeares truce.
1	6	ROBERT. I	10	5	42	
2	7	2	11	6	43	
3	8	3	12	7	44	John Bren cometh into France, and there receiveth rich legacies from Philip Augustus.
4	9	4	13	8	45	LEWIS the eighth.
5	10	5	14	9	2	
6	M. 8.	6	15	10	3	He is honourably entertained at Rome, and resigneth his kingdom.
7	GREGORY the ninth.	7	16	11	4	FREDERICK, by marriage of Iole Bren's daughter.
8	2	BALDWIN the second.	1	17	12	2
9	3	2	18	13	3	9 <sup>th</sup> VOYAGE under Frederick, who crowned himself King of Jerusalem; and concluding a ten-yeares truce, returneth into Europe, leaving Reinold Duke of Bavaria his Vice-Roy in Palestine.
1230	4	3	19	14	4	
1	5	4	20	15	5	
2	6	5	21	16	6	
3	7	6	22	17	7	
4	8	7	23	18	8	

# Table.

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Jerusalem.	M <sup>rs</sup> of Kn. Hospitallers.	M <sup>rs</sup> of Kn. Templars.	Masters of Dutch Kn.	Caliphs of Syria.	Turkish Kings of Egypt.
	He is present in the Laterane Council to solicit the Holy warre.	XIII. G. O. THERIDUS de-la-Rat.	P. de Monte acuto.	6	36	9 Saphadine (according to M. Paris, p. 404.)
				7	37	10 dieth for grief that the fort
				8	38	11 Iata was taken.
			He fighteth stoutly with the rest of his Order at the taking of Damiata, Mat. Paris, pag. 409 & 419.	9	39	12 MELADINE
				10	40	13
				11	41	14 Is wonderfully kind to the Christians half
				12	42	15 drowned in Egypt.
				13	43	16
				14	44	17
				15	45	18
				16	TAHER S.	19
				17	20	
				18	3	21
				19	4	22
				20	23	
				21	24	
				22	25	
				23	26	
				24	27	
				25	MUSTA-NATZER.	28

The Pr. of Antioch dieth without lawful issue.

FREDERICK bafe S. to Fred. the Emp. I is by Reinoldus Vice-roy of Jerusalem made Pr. of Antioch, in spite of Henr. K. of Cyprus, who claimed that place.

XIII. G. RALDUS.

A bitter enemy he was to Frederick the Emperor, and sided with the Pope & Templars against him.

XV. CERVILUS.

The Dutch Knights under Hermannus their Master come into Prussia; yet so many of them still remained in Syria.

XVI. BERTRANDUS de Campis.

\* 1230. Several Authors assigne severall dates wherein the Dutch Knights came into Prussia: Perchance they came in severall parcels. Their succession I had out of Pantaleon, Munster, and the Centurius. *Quere* whether their Masters of the Dutch Knights in Prussia had also command over those of their Order in Syria.

# A Chronologicall

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy Warre, & Kings of Jerusalem.
1235	9	8	24	19	9	9
6	10	9	25	20	10	10
7	11	10	26	21	11	11
8	12	11	27	22	12	The former ten-yeares Truce expired, Reinald concludeth another of the same term.
9	13	12	28	23	13	10. VOYAGE under Theobald King of Navarre.
1240	14	13	29	24	14	He is unfortunately overthrown in bageat at Gaza.
1	M. 5. CELESTINE the fourth. D. 17.	14	30	25	15	11. VOYAGE under Richard Earl of Cornwall.
2	The See void.	15	31	26	16	
3	INNOCENTIVS the fourth.	16	32	27	17	
4		17	33	28	18	The Corafines conquer the Christians, and sack Jerusalem.
5		18	34	29	19	
6		19	35	30	20	
7		20	36	31	21	12. VOYAGE under S. Lewis King of France.
8		21	37	32	22	He arriveth in Cyprus, & there wintereth;
9		22	38	33	23	taketh Damiata; beatech the Saracens.
1250	8	23	INTERREGNUM of 23 years, where in there were many Com-petitious for the Empire.	34	24	Robert Earl of Artois slain. Lewis taken prisoner. INTERREGNUM of 14 years.
1	9	24		35	25	The Pastorells overthrowen in France.
2	10	25		36	26	King Lewis being ransomed cometh into Palestine; recovereth and fortifieth Sidon;
3	11	26		37	27	returneth into France.
4	M. 12 D. 14	27		38	28	

# Table.

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Jerusalem.	M <sup>r</sup> of Kn. Hospitallers	M <sup>r</sup> of Kn. Templars.	M <sup>r</sup> of Dutch Kn.	Caliphs of Syria	Turkish K <sup>s</sup> of Egypt.
4				26		29 18
5				27		30 19
6				28		31 20
7				29		32 21
8				30		33 22
9				31		34 23
10	XV. ROBERTUS	HERMANNUS Petragorinus, M. Paris, pag 726.	V. CONRAD I Landgrave of Halia.			35 24
11		XVII. PETRUS de Villebrides;		2		36 25
12		taken captive by the Corafines, M. Paris, pag 833.	All the Templars slain to eighteen,* the Hospitallers to nineteen, the Dutch Knights to three.	3		37 26
13	He was in the battle against the Corafines: as appear in M. Paris;	XVIII. GUILLIELMUS de Castello novo, M. Paris, pag 836.		4		38 27
14	where he writeth a bemoaning letter.			5		39 28
15				6		40 29
The Antiochians fighting unwidely with the Turks, are overthrowen.				7		He dieth at Damia- ta's taking. MELICH-SALA, S. Sultan of Egypt.
				8		
				9		
				10		TARQUEMINUS.
CONRAD S. to Frederick Prince of Anioch.	The Patriarch of Jerusalem was taken prisoner with the King of France Magdeburg. Cens. 13. col. 697.	All the Hospitallers with their Master slain to one. XIX. HUGO REVEL: He made a statute whereby women were admitted into this Order.	All the Templars with their Master slain to two.	11		2
				12		3
				VL Poppo.		4
						Great Chas of Tartary. NANGO perswaded by Haiso K. of Armenia to turn Christian.

\* 1245 Here we are at another losse for the names of the Templars, and will be thankful to those which will help us to them.

# A Chronological

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy Warre, & Kings of Jerusalem.
1235	9	8	24	19	9	9
6	10	9	25	20	10	10
7	11	10	26	21	11	11
8	12	11	27	22	12	The former ten-years Truce expired, Reinold concludeth another of the same term.
9	13	12	28	23	13	10. VOYAGE under Theobald King of Navarre.
1240	14	13	29	24	14	He is unfortunately overthrown in battle at Gaza.
1	CELESTINE the fourth.	14	30	25	15	11. VOYAGE under Richard Earl of Cornwall.
2	The See void.	15	31	26	16	
3	INNOCENT the fourth.	16	32	27	17	
4		17	33	28	18	The Corasines conquer the Christians, and sack Jerusalem.
5		18	34	29	19	
6		19	35	30	20	
7		20	36	31	21	12. VOYAGE under S. Lewis King of France.
8		21	37	32	22	He arriveth in Cyprus, & there wintereth;
9		22	38	33	23	taketh Damietta; beateeth the Saracens.
1250	8	23	INTERREGNUM of 13 years, wherein there were many competitors for the Empire.	34	24	Robert Earl of Artois slain. Lewis taken prisoner. INTERREGNUM of 14 years.
1	9	24		35	25	The Pastorelli overthrown in France.
2	10	25		36	26	King Lewis being ransomed cometh into Palestine; recovereth and fortieth Sidons
3	11	26		37	27	returneth into France.
4	M. 52 D. 14	27		38	28	

# Table.

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Jerusalem.	M <sup>r</sup> of Kn. Hospitallers.	M <sup>r</sup> of Kn. Templars.	M <sup>r</sup> of Duch. Kn. of Syria.	Caliphs of Syria.	Turkish K <sup>s</sup> of Egypt.
4				26		29 18
5				27		30 19
6				28		31 20
7				29		32 21
8				30		33 22
9				31		34 23
10	XV. ROBERTUS	HERMANNUS Petragorinus, M. Paris, pag 726.	V. CONRADUS Landgrave of Hattia.	1		35 24
11		XVII. PETRUS de Villebrides;		2		36 25
12				3		37 26
13	He was in the battle against the Corasines: as appeareth in M. Paris, pag. 833.	taken captive by the Corasines, M. Paris, pag. 833.	All the Templars slain to eighteen,* the Hospitallers to nineteen, the Dutch Knights to three.	4		38 27
14		XVIII. GUILIELMUS de Castello novo, M. Paris, pag. 836.		5		39 28
15				6		40 29
The Antiochians fighting unadvisedly with the Turks, are overthrown.				7		He dieth at Damascus taking.
				8		MALECH-SALA, S.
				9		Diammaine Sultans of Egypt.
				10		TARQUEMINUS.
CONRADUS S. to Frederici Prince of Antioch.	The Patriarch of Jerusalem was taken prisoner with the King of France Magdeburg. Cent. 13. col. 697.	All the Hospitallers with their Master slain to one.	All the Templars with their Master slain to two.	11		2
		XIX. HUGO REVEL: He made a statute whereby women were admitted into this Order.		12		3
				VL. POPPO.		4
				2		Great Chas of Tartary. MANGO persuaded by HAITO K. of Armenia to turn Christian.

\* 1145 Here we are at another loss for the names of the Templars, and will be thankful to those which will help us to them.

# A Chronological

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holy warre, and Kings of Jerusalem.	
1255	ALEXANDER the fourth.	2	28	6	39	29	6
6		3	29	7	40	30	7
7		4	30	8	41	31	8
8		5	31	9	42	32	9
9		6	32	10	43	33	10
These 10 yeares following the Genoans fighting against the Venetians and Pisans, hasten the ruine of the Christians in Palestine.							
1260	M. D. 1	MICHAEL Palzolo- sus.	1	11	44	34	11
1	URBANE the fourth.	1	2	12	45	35	12
2		2	3	13	46	36	13
3		3	4	14	47	37	14
4	M. D. 2		5	15	48	38	1
5	CLEMENT the fourth.	1	6	16	49	39	2
6		2	7	17	50	40	3
7		3	8	18	51	41	4
8	M. D. 2		9	19	52	42	5
9	The See void.		10	20	53	43	6
HUGH King of Cyprus. 13. VOYAGE under St Lewis King of France.							
1270			11	21	54	44	7
1	GREGORY the tenth.	1	12	22	55	PHILIP the Bold.	8
2		2	13	23	56	24	9
3		3	14	RODULPH ab Halpurg.	1	EDWARD the first.	10
4		4	15	2	2	46	11
Charles of Sicilie, and our Prince Edward. Tunis taken. Lewis dieth Prince Edward cometh to Ptolemais; is desperately wounded, yet recovereth.							

# Table.

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Jerusalem.	M <sup>r</sup> of Kn. Hospitallers	Masters of Dusch Knights	Caliphs of Syria.	Great Chas of Tartary.	Mammalukes Sultans of Egypt.
	XVI. PANTALON, a Frenchman.			3		3
				4	MUSTA-ZEM, the 1st Caliph of Syria, a covetous miser, conquered by the Tartarians.	4
				5	Haalach, Br. to Mango taketh the citie of Babylon.	5
				6		6
				7		7
Haalach the Tartarian cometh to Antioch; is there kindly entertained by Prince Conrade.	He is made Pope by the name of Urbane the fourth, Platina.			8		8
				9		1
				10		2
				11		3
				12		4
Conrade cometh into Europe to succour Conradine his kinsman.			VII. HANNO de Sabget Hau- sen.	1	ABAGA Cham his S.	5
		XX. NICOLAUS Longar.		2		6
				3		7
Antioch in the absence of Conrade wonne by Bendocdar.				4		8
				5		9
				6		10
BOEMUND the fourth.				7		11
				8		12
				9		13
				10		14
				11		15

# A Chronological

Anno Dom.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England.	Kings of France.	Holywarre, and Kings of Jerusalem.
1275	M. 4 D. 10	16	3	3	5	The last VOYAGE under Henry Duke of Mecklenburg.
6	INNOCENT the fifth. M. 5	17	4	4	6	13
7	ADRIAN the fifth. M. 12 D. 7	18	5	5	7	MARIA DOMICELLA Princeſſe of Antioch, reſigneth her right of the Kingdom of Jeruſalem to Charles.
8	JOHN the 10. M. 8 D. 8	19	6	6	8	15
9	NICOLAS the third. M. 8. D. 19	20	7	7	9	16
1280	The See void.	21	8	8	10	17
1	MARTIN the ſecond.	22	9	9	11	18
2		23	10	10	12	19 The Sicilian Veſpers.
3	ANDRONICUS PALAEOLOGUS	11	11	11	13	20
4		2	12	12	14	1 CHARLES the ſecond, ſurnamed the Lame, or the Delayer.
5	M. 12 D. 7	3	13	13	15	2 JOHN his S. HENRY his Br.
6	HONORIUS the fourth.	4	14	14	PHILIP the Fair.	3
7	D. 2	5	15	15	2	4
8	NICOLAS the fourth.	6	16	16	3	5 Tripoli Sidon } loſt.
9		7	17	17	4	6 Beryus Tyre O }
1290		8	M. 9.	18	5	7 Ptolemais beſieged;
1		9	ADOLPHUS of Naſſau.	19	6	8 taken: And the Latine Chriſtians finally expelled out of Syria.
2	M. 12 D. 14	10	2	20	7	9
3	The See void.	11	3	21	8	10
4	CHRISTINE the V. M. 1. D. 7. BONIFACE the eighth.	12	4	22	5	11

If the Reader do obſerve any difference betwixt our former computation in the Book and our Chronologic here, let him rather rely on this latter, which I take to be better perfected.

# Table.

Princes of Antioch.	Patriarchs of Jeruſale.	M <sup>rs</sup> of Kn. Hoſpitallers	M <sup>rs</sup> of Kn. Templars.	Maſters of Great Chas Dutch Kn. of Tartary.	M <sup>rs</sup> of Kn. of Egypt.
Dieth May 11. BORMUND the fifth, S. under the tuition of the Biſhop of Tortoſa.	1			11	12
	2	XXI. JOHN de Villiers.		12	13
	3			HERMANNUS the third.	14
	4			2	15
	5			3	16
	6			4	17
	7			5	18
Boemund now of age, ſideth againſt the Templars to the deſtruction of the Chriſtian cauſe.	8	About this time we find a nameleſſe Patriarch of Jeruſalem, —		6	19
	9		XXII. ODO de Pinibus.	7	20
	10			8	21
	11		PETER Beluſ, a valiant ſouldier.	9	22
	12			10	23
LUCIE his ſiſter, married in Europe. Vide Calviſ. in hoc anno.	1			11	24
	2			12	25
	3			13	26
	4			14	27
	5			15	28
	6			16	29
	7			17	30
	8			18	31
	9			19	32
	10			20	33
	11			21	34
	12			22	35
	13			23	36
	14			24	37
	15			25	38
	16			26	39
	17			27	40
	18			28	41
	19			29	42
	20			30	43
	21			31	44
	22			32	45
	23			33	46
	24			34	47
	25			35	48
	26			36	49
	27			37	50
	28			38	51
	29			39	52
	30			40	53
	31			41	54
	32			42	55
	33			43	56
	34			44	57
	35			45	58
	36			46	59
	37			47	60
	38			48	61
	39			49	62
	40			50	63
	41			51	64
	42			52	65
	43			53	66
	44			54	67
	45			55	68
	46			56	69
	47			57	70
	48			58	71
	49			59	72
	50			60	73
	51			61	74
	52			62	75
	53			63	76
	54			64	77
	55			65	78
	56			66	79
	57			67	80
	58			68	81
	59			69	82
	60			70	83
	61			71	84
	62			72	85
	63			73	86
	64			74	87
	65			75	88
	66			76	89
	67			77	90
	68			78	91
	69			79	92
	70			80	93
	71			81	94
	72			82	95
	73			83	96
	74			84	97
	75			85	98
	76			86	99
	77			87	100

\* For in the ninth year of his reign he withſtood the city of Jeruſalem & reſtored it to the Eaſtern Chriſtians; who ſoon after loſe it to the Sultan of Egypt.



# A Catalogue of Authours cited in this book.

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	Bydolph.	Fuller.	Luther.
B	Bzorius.	Gaguinus.	Machiaviell.
	Cefars Comment.	Gerfon.	MAGDEBURGENSES
C	CALVISIUS,	Godwine.	Centuriæ, <i>Basilea</i>
	<i>Francofurti, edit.</i>	Goffridus.	1624, in fol.
D	3 <sup>a</sup> 1629, in 4 <sup>o</sup> .	Grafton.	Jo. Magnus.
	Camden.	Gwillam.	Guil. MALMES-
E	Jo. Cammanus.	Harding.	BURIENSIS;
	Canon Law.	S <sup>r</sup> Jo. Harrington.	<i>Francofurti, 1601,</i>
F	Carew.	Chr. HELVICUS,	<i>in fol.</i>
	Cassanæus.	Chron. <i>Marpurgi</i>	Mantuan.
G	Antoninus.	1629, in fol.	Marinus Sanutus.
	Chemnitius.	D <sup>r</sup> Heylin.	Martini Chron.
H	Civil Law.	S. Hierome.	M <sup>r</sup> Mead.
	Cochlaus.	Hieronimo Roman.	P. Mela.
I	S <sup>r</sup> Edw. Coke.	Hospinian.	Mercator.
	Continuator Guil.	Rog. HOVEDEN;	Montrell.
J	Tyrii.	<i>Francofurti, 1601</i>	Morison.
	Continuator Matth.	<i>in fol.</i>	Seb. Munster.
K	Parif.	Hen. HUNTING-	N
	Continuator Ur-	TON; <i>Francofurti, 1601, in fol.</i>	Naclerus.
L	Ipbergenfis.	I.	NICETAS Cho-
	S <sup>r</sup> Rob. Cotton.	B <sup>r</sup> Jewel.	niates; <i>Apud here-</i>
M	Daniel.	Illyricus.	<i>des Eustathii Vig-</i>
	P. Diaconus.	Jofephus.	<i>non, 1593, in 4<sup>o</sup>.</i>
N	Mart. Dominic.	K	Neubrigenfis.
	Dreffæus.	Rich. KNOLES,	Theod. à Nyem.
O	Egnatius.	Turkish Hift. 2.	Greg. Nyffen.
	Erafmus.	<i>edition, 1610, in fol.</i>	O
P	Eftius.	Krantzius.	Ovid.
	Jo. Euchaitenfis.	L	P
Q	Eulogium Chron.	Lambert.	Pantaleon.
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R	Fazellius.	Mellificium Hift.	<i>London, 1671, in fol.</i>
	Field.	<i>Marpurgi, 1617,</i>	Jo. PAUL Perin,
S	FOX, A&s and mo-	<i>in 4<sup>o</sup>.</i>	Luthers forerun-
	numents; 4. editi-	Live.	ners, translated
T	<i>on, 1583.</i>	Lindwood.	by S. Leonard;
	Otho Friſingenfis.	Lipſius.	<i>Lond. 1624.</i>

Pero

# The Table.

Pero Mexya.	Rivetus.	Jo. Speed.	V
Peter de Bloys.	Claud. Rubis.	Statutes of {Engl.	Vincent.
Peter de Valle Sar-	S	{Scotl.	Polyd. Virgil.
nenſi.	An. Coc. SABEL-	Stephanus Cypriot.	Vitruvius.
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FINIS.

Mart. 13. 1638.

Imprimatur Cantabrigiæ per Thomam Buck.

RA. BROWNRIGG, Procan.

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